THE REV. JAMES LONG AND PROTESTANT MISSIONARY POLICY IN BENGAL, 1840-1872

Thesis submitted for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the

University of London

by

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January 1964

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Abstract

This thesis is a study, against the background of Protestant missionary thinking and activities in Bengal from 1840 to 1872, of the career of the Rev. James Long, a controversial Protestant missionary, educationist, linguist and social reformer, and a figure widely respected among Indians. Initially, attention is focussed on Long's educational background, on his motives in becoming a missionary and on his reasons for joining the Church Missionary Society in 1838. His early experience of missionary work in Calcutta, which largely accounts for his reaction against Dr. Duff's system of education through English, is considered. Particular attention is paid to Long's career from 1850 to 1861. During this period his originality clearly emerges: he became involved in the indigo and other controversies and his work was crowned with considerable achievement. His activities in vernacular education, his concern with the training of converts and the development of Bengali churches, his literary and social activities and his enthusiasm for social reform are all discussed in the broad context of Protestant missionary thinking and policy; and an attempt is made to show how his activities and particular point of view affected his relations with other missionaries, as well as with other Europeans and the Bengali community. The

significance of the indigo dispute, the events leading up to Long's trial and imprisonment in 1861 and reactions to the Nil Darpan case in India and England have also been considered. In the latter part of the thesis closer attention is paid to Long's basic objectives. In the 1850's he became increasingly involved in activities which he regarded as preparation for missions rather than in evangelism itself. His philosophy of missions had, in fact, been changing ever since the 1840's and, by 1872, his concept of the missionary's task in India was somewhat different from what was generally accepted by other missionaries, who paid greater attention to evangelism in their own day and generation.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank especially my supervisor Dr. K.A.Ballhatchet for his sympathetic help and encouragement. Thanks are also due to Mr. Martin Moir of the India Office Library, to Miss Rosemary Keen, archivist of the C.M.S., to Mrs. B.A.English at Harewood and to many other librarians and archivists who have assisted me in my work. The Central Research Funds Committee of the University generously financed my research in Edinburgh and, last but not least, I wish to acknowledge my wife's assistance in proof-reading.

Contents

Abbreviations

B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society
C.C.O.	Calcutta Christian Observer
C.V.E.S.	Christian Vernacular Education Society
C.M.R.	Church Missionary Record
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
C.of S.	Church of Scotland
F.C. of S.	Free Church of Scotland
G.R.P.I.	General Reports of Public Instruction (Lower Provinces)
H.C.	Harewood Collection
H.P.	Halifax Papers
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.M.S.	Methodist Missionary Society
S.P.C.K.	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Introduction

This thesis is partly an attempt to explore the aims and ideas and assess the significance of the Rev. James Long - perhaps one of the most remarkable missionaries ever sent out to the mission field by the Church Missionary Society.

While Long is best known as an outspoken opponent of the indigo planting system in Bengal in the late 1850's and early 1860's and as the defendant in one of the most famous trials in modern Indian history (the Nil Darpan case), his importance does not lie merely in his connection with the indigo controversy.

Long did not, like his friend Dr. Alexander Duff, pioneer important new methods of evangelism or exercise a profound influence over the thinking of his missionary colleagues. As one of his teachers once remarked he was "undoubtedly original." His views were perhaps even more unorthodox than Duff's had been in the 1830's, but, unlike Duff, he never captured the imagination of his colleagues or completely satisfied their doubts as to his real value as a Christian missionary by making dramatic conversions to Christianity. But although he made little impression on the thinking and outlook of other Protestant missionaries in Bengal he exercised considerable influence over Government officials in

India and over C.M.S. officials in England. And even before his trial and imprisonment, which, from the Indian point of view, seems to have made him "a saint and hero," he was popular and well received by the educated as well as by the lower sections of the Indian population.

Other historians have noted Long's scholarly interests and, in particular, his contribution to vernacular literature. Eugene Stock, the historian of the C.M.S., comments, for example, on Long's ability to communicate ideas through the vernacular and claims that "no man has ever succeeded better in getting — to use a colloquial phrase — at the back of the people's minds."[1] He also draws attention to Long's qualities as a Christian pastor and to his work in sociology. But what is most remarkable, is that even Stock omits to mention one of the greatest of all Long's achievements — his work in vernacular education.

During at least part of the period he spent in India, Long was a controversial figure, and historians have tended to treat his career from markedly different points of view. Stock, who has given one of the fullest

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1. E.Stock The History of the Church Missionary Society, vol. II, London 1899, p.271.

accounts of Long's activities, examines his career from the missionary point of view and gives an extremely sympathetic account of his work.[2] J.Martineau, the biographer of Sir Bartle Frere, tends to reflect an official or Government view of Long's trial and implies that the planters' proceedings against him were essentially unfair. He claims that the trial was "disgracefully conducted" and the judge "outrageously partial."[3] On the other hand, Arthur Mayhew, in his Christianity and the Government of India, if anything, echoes the planters' arguments and claims that Long was fined and imprisoned "for inflaming racial feeling."[4] More recently,N.S.Bose, an Indian historian who is particularly concerned with Long's involvement in the indigo dispute, refers sympathetically to his activities and reminds his readers that Long's name became a household word.[5]

Long cannot be properly understood out of the context in which he lived and he is important not only

2. E.Stock, vol. II, pp.76-77, 271-272.
3. J.Martineau The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere, vol. I, London 1895, pp.360-362.
4. A.Mayhew Christianity and the Government of India, London 1929, p.210.
5. N.S.Bose The Indian Awakening and Bengal, Calcutta 1960, pp.167-168, 222.

because of what he himself achieved, but because his career raises important issues, throws light on the relation between missionaries on the one hand and Government officials, non-official Europeans and Bengalis on the other, and reveals a great deal about missionary thinking and strategy during the period 1840 to 1872. Hence this thesis is both a study of the Rev. James Long and of important aspects of Protestant missionary policy in Bengal during the period he was working in the Presidency. The two subjects are not separate entities, but an indivisible part of one context in which Long himself is the centre — the focal point of attention. Long had extraordinary zeal and energy, and a ranging probing, restless mind which reacted quickly to new ideas and situations. Like some of his colleagues, he talked a great deal about his profession, wrote numerous articles on a wide variety of subjects and produced a considerable amount of correspondence which remains in the C.M.S. archives. He expressed an opinion on almost every important issue raised in connection with missionary work during this period and, by concentrating on his thought and activities the historian is quite naturally plunged into almost all the major conflicts and discussions of missionary objectives

and policy which took place during this period. He finds himself almost inevitably listening in to the missionary debates and involved in an examination of missionary views on strategy, the relative merits of preaching and education, social reform, the indigenous churches, non-Christian religions, Indian culture and a great number of other important topics which missionaries discussed among themselves.

While there are a number of well known general works which deal with Protestant missionary history in India such as Richter's A History of Missions in India and Sherring's A History of Protestant Missions in India, Protestant missionary policy in Bengal has not received much detailed attention, in spite of the fact that Bengal was an area of intensive missionary activity and experimentation. In a recent thesis entitled A Study of Missionary Policy and Methods in Bengal, 1793 to 1905, (which was in fact submitted for a degree in theology, not in history) Dr. W.B.Davis attempted an overall survey of developments during that period. Manuscript sources are largely ignored and the study is based almost entirely on published and secondary material. The treatment of various aspects of missionary policy, covering as it does more than a century, tends to be somewhat superficial

and the text is full of unquestioned assumptions and undocumented generalisations. Partly for these reasons it cannot be considered a serious contribution to the understanding of Protestant missionary policy in Bengal during the nineteenth century and, in any case, because of the general nature of his work, Dr. Davis could not pay much detailed attention to the period 1840 to 1872 which comes within the scope of this thesis.

What is most noticeably lacking in all these studies, even in Richter's work, is any attempt to examine missionary aims or objectives. The general assumption that the ultimate aim of the missionaries was to convert the non-Christian population to Christianity may be justified, and evidence in this thesis as well as from other sources tends to confirm that conclusion. But there has not even been an attempt to examine immediate aims and readers of missionary history are left with the vague impression that the missionaries (a) were producing literature and training men (Indian converts) in preparation for future evangelism and (b) were themselves directly involved in evangelism in the hope of making converts. There can be little doubt that Protestant missionaries in Bengal had both these objectives in mind, but this is an inadequate interpretation and does not fit all the facts.

Why, for example, were the missionaries involved in social reform? Dr. Ingham who, in a recent book, Reformers in India, discusses the part missionaries played in social reform in India during the period 1793 to 1833, scarcely attempts to answer the question. He too seems to assume that everyone already knows what the missionaries were attempting to do and the reader is again left with little more than a vague impression — this time, that the missionaries were concerned with social justice and that their activities in social reform had little to do with their ultimate objective of converting the non-Christian population to Christianity.

This thesis, which entails, among other things, an examination of missionary involvement in education and social reform, suggests that Protestant missionaries during the period under review did have at least one other important and immediate objective. They were deliberately attempting to change economic, social, intellectual and other conditions in an attempt to create an environment which they believed would be more conducive to the spread of Christianity. They took part in social reform and promoted education partly because they believed that these developments would make the people more responsive to Christian teaching, would break down prejudice, undermine

Hinduism and caste and, in other ways, prepare the way for the preacher.

Manuscript and published source materials for this thesis were scattered but plentiful. The C.M.S. archives contained much of the essential manuscript material, including Long's papers, but the archives of other Protestant missionary societies which operated in Bengal, such as the B.M.S. and L.M.S., also contained useful sources. Dr. Duff's papers in Edinburgh, the Harewood collection in Yorkshire and the Halifax papers in the India Office library were consulted and were useful to a limited extent. A number of valuable official publications, such as the Report of the Indigo Commission and the Bengal Government's Education Reports were also available in the India Office library. Missionary periodicals published in Bengal or in England, such as the Calcutta Christian Observer and the Church Missionary Record, proved most useful. Newspapers, including Indian English-language publications, provided additional material, especially for the study of reactions to Long's imprisonment, and memoirs and biography frequently contained information not available elsewhere.

In 1840, the year in which Long arrived in

Calcutta, there were five Protestant missionary societies operating in Bengal. The oldest society, but not the first in the Bengal mission field, was the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.). The other four were the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), which was also Anglican, the Baptist Missionary Society (B.M.S.), the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), conducted by Independents, and the Church of Scotland Mission (C. of S.) which entered the field in 1830.

The denominational differences which marked off the two Anglican societies on the one hand from the Nonconformist and Scottish societies on the other were sometimes less important than the differences in outlook and tradition which separated the High Church S.P.G. from all the other societies (including the C.M.S.) which were younger, and grew out of the Methodist and Evangelical revival movements of the eighteenth century. The missionaries in Bengal belonging to these younger societies probably considered themselves as "Evangelicals" and are best described as such.[6] The term "Evangelical" was generally used during the nineteenth century to

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6. C.C.O., vol. XVIII, February 1849, p.77; vol.XXXIII, April 1865, p.186; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, December 1857, p.460; C.M.S. CI1/0185/2 Long to Parent Committee, 13 April 1843.

describe those Protestants (Anglicans, Nonconformists and others) who believed that the essential part of the Gospel consisted in salvation by faith through the atoning death of Christ and who denied that either good works or the sacraments had any saving efficacy. They usually believed in the infallibility and overriding importance of the Scriptures and were united in their stand against rationalism and the theories of evolution which seemed to undermine the literal truth of the Bible. They were strongly anti-Catholic and feared the rapid spread of Tractarianism in the 1840's.[7]

The S.P.G. missionaries, on the other hand, were imbued with High Church principles and influenced by the Tractarian movement,[8] which emphasized some of the doctrines neglected by the Evangelicals and which stressed among other things, the importance of the apostolic succession, the authority of the Church rather than Scripture and the value of sacraments.[9]

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7. J.A.H.Murray (ed.) Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford 1933, vol. III; K.Heasman Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era, London 1962, pp. 15-16; E.Halévy A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, London 1961, vol.I, pp.436-438.
8. C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842 and CI1/0185/2 Long to Parent Committee, 13 April 1843.
9. Halévy, vol.IV, pp.353, 438; Y.Brilioth Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement, London 1934, pp.18, 44.; E.Stock A History of the Church Missionary Society, vol.I, p.288.

The Evangelical missionaries of different denominations co-operated a good deal with each other, They preached in each other's chapels, examined each other's schools and met together for prayer and consultation.[10] But between these and the S.P.G. missionaries there was very little communication or friendly feeling. The Evangelicals agreed among themselves not to intrude into each other's preserve and not to receive enquirers or converts from other Evangelical societies.[11] But no such agreement was reached with the S.P.G. missionaries,[12] who apparently asserted that "none but episcopally ordained persons" were "lawful ministers of Christ" and, by intruding into areas already occupied by Presbyterian and Nonconformist missionaries, caused considerable confusion among their converts.[13] Relations between the S.P.G. and Baptist missionaries, who frequently clashed in the villages south of Calcutta, were particularly bad and, although the Baptists complained of the difficulties caused by the S.P.G., the S.P.G. missionaries almost

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10. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, February 1849, p.78; G.Smith Life of Alexander Duff, London 1879, vol.I, p.129; F.A.Cox History of the Baptist Missionary Society, London 1842, vol.II, p.294; Home and Foreign Missionary Record, C.of S., 1848-50, vol.V, p.316.
11. J.Mullens Brief Memorials of the Rev.A.F.Lacroix, London 1862, p.127.
12. Home and Foreign Missionary Record, C. of S., vol.I, October 1850, p.79.
13. L.M.S.Report, 1842, p.11; C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842; C.of S. Duff to Gordon, 1 July 1846; E.B.Underhill The Life of the Rev. John Wenger, London 1886, p.132.

certainly made similar complaints about the Baptists. The Rev. H.H.Sandel of the S.P.G., for example, referring to one of his converts who had joined the Baptists, claimed that "of all the dissenters, the Baptists are foremost to receive converts and induce them by kind treatment & worldly prosperity."[14]

Although all five Protestant missionary societies had their headquarters in Britain, much of the administration was carried out through committees operating in the mission field. These were centred in Calcutta and those of the L.M.S., B.M.S. and Scottish mission were composed wholly, or in part, of missionaries, who thereby played an important part in the management of their own affairs.[15] However, few of the missionaries belonging to the S.P.G. sat on their managing committee,[16] (although there was probably no objection to their doing so in principle)[17] and the C.M.S. missionaries had practically no say in the management of their mission. The local C.M.S. Committee, the Calcutta Corresponding Committee,

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14. S.P.G. E. MSS. 9 Sandel's Journal, 29 July 1861.
15. C.M.S. CI1/0185/145 Duff to Long, 15 April 1844; CI1/0185/146 Wenger to Long, 2 April 1844; CI1/0185/147 Boaz to Long, 17 April 1844.
16. Twelfth Report of the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., Calcutta 1841, and S.P.G.Report, 1841 (list of missionaries).
17. Proceedings on the Formation of a Diocesan Committee for the Archdeaconry of Calcutta of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Calcutta 1825, especially Rule No. 3.

was composed of one missionary who acted as Secretary (and seldom had time to do much else), the Bishop or Archdeacon, who acted as Chairman, and a number of lay supporters and clergy other than missionaries.[18]

The Calcutta C.M.S. missionaries who constantly mixed with missionaries of other societies, who were entrusted with greater freedom and responsibility, were particularly discontented[19] and, in 1844, mainly as a result of their protests, the C.M.S.Parent Committee ruled that its Bengal missionaries should hold conferences at least twice yearly "in order more regularly and fully to bring the information and judgment of the Missionaries to bear on the proceedings of their respective districts." It was also ruled that the reports of these conferences should be sent to the Corresponding Committee and that the Committee should, in any case, consult the missionaries on all "material" questions before recording their final decision.[20] The first conference of Bengal C.M.S. missionaries organized as a result of the new regulations was held at Krishnagar

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18. C.M.S. Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings for 1840; E.Stock, vol.I, p.192; C.M.S. Committee Minutes, 19 January 1830, 25 July 1844.
19. C.M.S. Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 21 March 1844; CI1/M9 Menge to Innes, 3 April 1844.
20. C.M.S. Committee Minutes, 25 July 1844.

in February 1845. Thereafter, conferences were held two or three times yearly.[21]

In 1840, there were perhaps between 80 and 90 European Protestant missionaries, assisted by a large number of Bengali preachers and teachers, working in the Presidency.[22] All five societies were active in Calcutta and all except the Scottish missionary society had converts in nearby villages. The C.M.S., L.M.S. and B.M.S. had mission stations further away in other parts of the Bengal Presidency — the C.M.S. being particularly active in the Krishnagar district (where there was a decided movement in favour of Christianity) and the B.M.S. concentrating much of its attention on East Bengal.[23] The C.M.S. probably had the largest number of converts, there being about 4,200 in northern India in 1840.[24] The Baptists reported in 1842, that 478 of their converts in northern India were church members.[25] In 1841, there were about 1,111 converts and 1,300 catecumens (those under instruction for baptism) in connection with the

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21. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/1 Bengal District Conference Reports, February 1845 etc.
22. Missionary Register, April 1841, p.197; B.M.S., C.M.S., S.P.G., L.M.S., Annual Reports, 1841.
23. Missionary Register, April 1841, pp. 180-183; B.M.S., C.M.S., S.P.G., L.M.S., Annual Reports, 1841; J.Mullens Revised Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon, Calcutta 1852.
24. Missionary Register, April 1841, p.183; J.Mullens Revised Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon, Calcutta 1852.
25. B.M.S. Annual Report, 1842, p.28.

S.P.G. in Bengal,[26] and, in 1841, the L.M.S. reported that "the number of Hindoo Christians in fellowship with the churches, and of inquirers or candidates for that privilege" in the Presidency was "about 1,000."[27] The Church of Scotland had comparatively few converts, but these were generally well educated and distinguished men.

Many Bengal missionaries, particularly those stationed in rural areas, in a relatively stable environment, were content to continue the well worn methods of evangelism through elementary vernacular education, vernacular preaching and the distribution of books and tracts. But others, especially those working in and around Calcutta, were experimenting with a newer method of evangelism through higher education in English, developed successfully by Dr. Alexander Duff and the Scottish missionaries in the 1830's.

Duff was not the first missionary in Bengal or in Calcutta to experiment with English education;[28] he may not even have been the first to work out a systematic coherent philosophy of evangelism based upon it, but, what was important, was that his particular type of English education succeeded whereas other methods of English education failed.

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26. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1842, p.LXX.
27. L.M.S. Annual Report, 1841, p.13.
28. G.Smith The Life of Alexander Duff, vol.I, p.102.

Duff's method was developed partly in response to the changing social conditions he found on his arrival in Calcutta in 1830. The growth of trade and commerce and the introduction of the Permanent Settlement was giving rise to an Indian aristocracy based on wealth as well as on birth,[29] and the introduction of Western ideas was undermining long established customs and religious beliefs, creating what one missionary aptly described as "a spirit of restless, unceasing inquiry".[30]

The main lines of the Hindu reaction to this social change and the impact of Western ideas was already apparent. Many were thoroughly alarmed, rallied in support of orthodox Hinduism and were determined to preserve the social and religious status quo.[31] Others attempted to soften the impact of the new ideas by re-interpreting Hinduism in the light of contemporary knowledge and criticism. They were religious and social reformers, drew inspiration from the teachings of Ram Mohan Roy and were mostly members or supporters of the Brahmo Samaj, founded by him as the Brahma Sabha in 1828.[32] Ram Mohan Roy who was probably influenced by

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29. A.F.S.Ahmed The Development of Public Opinion in Bengal, 1818-1835, Doctoral Thesis, University of London 1961, Chapter I.
30. ibid., Chapter II; Missionary Register, 1834, p.183.
31. Ahmed, pp. 58-68; N.S.Bose The Indian Awakening and Bengal, pp. 34-37.
32. Ahmed, pp. 67-84; Bose, pp. 13-20; J.N.Farquhar Modern Religious Movements in India, New York 1915, pp. 34-35.

both Muslim and Christian ideas,[33] held that Hinduism had become corrupted, was once a pure monotheistic religion and should be restored to its original "purity".[34] He and his followers not only rejected idolatry, but also frowned on caste distinctions and opposed such practices as sati.[35]

Then there were the radicals.[36] They were strongly entrenched in the Hindu College (founded in 1817) where they came under the influence of the brilliant young Henry Derozio, who developed a spirit of criticism and independent enquiry among them. The radicals organized their own clubs and debating societies and published a number of journals so as to disseminate their ideas.[37] They zealously studied the writings of eighteenth century rational philosophers such as Locke, Hume and Paine and developed sceptical attitudes towards religion.[38] They even criticised Ram Mohan Roy and his followers and, because of their outspoken attacks on orthodox Hinduism in particular, inflamed Bengali public opinion against them, were bitterly denounced and subjected to persecution.[39] One of the

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33. Ahmed, pp.72-73; Bose, p.6; Farquhar, pp.32-33.
34. Farquhar, p.35.
35. Ahmed, pp.81-84; Bose. p.20.
36. Ahmed, pp.85-104; Bose, pp.37-54.
37. Ahmed, p.86; Bose, pp.46-48.
38. Bose, pp.41-42.
39. Bose, p.42; Ahmed, pp.90-100.

most tempestuous of these young men was a high caste brahman, Krishna Mohan Bannerjea, who edited an English journal called the Enquirer and who, together with Mohesh Chunder Ghose, a student of the Hindu College, was converted to Christianity by Dr. Duff in 1832.[40]

It was generally understood that Dr. Duff would establish an institution or college for higher education "specially for the training of native teachers and preachers".[41] He was well aware that European missionaries by themselves could never hope to evangelise the whole of India and hoped that, by giving converts a highly specialized Christian education and training, to put into practice a system which he later described as "the indirect method of imparting that life and strength to the few, which will at once impel and enable them to exert a potent influence over the many."[42] In fact, he attempted to apply the filtration theory of education, already popular among Government officials, to Christian missions.

But before he could produce well trained preachers and teachers anxious to communicate the Gospel, he had first to convert them to Christianity and, hence, his own primary and immediate task was evangelism. Up to

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40. Bose, pp.45-46; G.Smith, vol.I, pp.153-162.
41. A. Duff India and India Missions, Edinburgh 1839, p.490.
42. ibid., p 301.

this time, the great majority of Christian converts were drawn from the lower castes. But Dr. Duff was determined to convert men from among the higher castes, radicals and others, who because of their superior education and/or social position would naturally find it easier to impress and influence their fellow countrymen.

He was firmly convinced of the value of concentrating missionary effort in strategic areas and, disregarding explicit instructions from his home committee, chose Calcutta as the centre for his experiment.[43] In spite of opposition from among Protestant missionaries who generally stressed the value and importance of elementary education in the vernacular, he decided to make English the medium of instruction.[44] He realized that schools giving an education in Bengali attracted only the lower classes and he believed that higher education in English would attract a better class of students who would be anxiously competing for higher and more lucrative Government positions.[45] He also felt that English was vastly superior to Bengali and Sanskrit as "the best and amplest channel for speedily letting in the full stream of European knowledge."[46] He intended

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43. A.Duff India and India Missions, pp.503-505; G.Smith, vol.I, pp.86-87.
44. A.Duff India and India Missions, pp.523-524; G.Smith, vol.I, pp.122-124.
45. A.Duff India and India Missions, pp.514-525.
46. ibid., p.518.

to teach a wide range of secular subjects including Western science and hoped that this European knowledge, by overthrowing the "false" scientific and other secular ideas bound up with Hinduism, would gradually undermine his students' faith in the authority of the Hindu scriptures and prepare their minds for the eventual acceptance of Christianity.[47]

With the help of Ram Mohan Roy, Duff procured a hall and his first students. He began teaching them at an elementary level in July 1830. His teaching methods based on the Scottish "intellectual system",[48] excited a great deal of interest among his students and his reputation quickly spread throughout the Bengali community.[49] Assistant teachers were procured and students enrolled in such large numbers that Duff was able to adopt selective methods.

The success of his College effectively silenced most of Duff's European critics[50] and, after the first public examinations and conversions to Christianity,

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47. A.Duff India and India Missions, pp.556-568.
48. The special object of this method, which was sometimes called the Socratic or interrogatory system, as teaching was carried out mainly by a series of questions, was to develop the intellectual powers of the pupils and not merely to communicate information. /Lal Behari Day Recollections of Alexander Duff D.D., LL.D., and the Mission College which he founded in Calcutta, London 1879, pp.118-123./
49. G.Smith, vol.I, pp.124-128.
50. ibid., vol.I, pp.130-131; A.Duff, India and India Missions, pp.581-585.

missionary opinion reacted strongly in favour of his system. In Calcutta the L.M.S. founded an institution at Bhowanipur, in 1837, modelled on his College[51] and, in about 1839, the Baptists opened a similar institution at Intally.[52] By 1840, missionaries all over India were copying his method. "How numerous", wrote G.M.Trevelyan, "are the instances in which visitors to the General Assembly's celebrated Academy [Duff's College] have caught the spirit of the plan; and been induced, on their return to their respective districts, to form the nucleus of similar Institutions!"[53]

The new emphasis on higher education in English inevitably stirred up discussion and even controversy about the value of the more traditional missionary methods. The relative merits of preaching and education were hotly debated;[54] the effectiveness of mere elementary education was seriously questioned[55] and vernacular schools in and around Calcutta, with the

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51. R.Lovett The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, London 1899, vol.II, p.173.
52. E.B.Underhill The Life of the Rev. John Wenger, pp.99-100; F.A.Cox History of the Baptist Missionary Society, vol.II, pp.294-297.
53. A.Duff India and India Missions, p.586; G.Smith, vol.I, p.131; T.Smith Men Worth Remembering: Alexander Duff, London 1883, p.42.
54. C.C.O., vol.III, July 1834, pp.320-321; C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, November 1842, pp.512-518; G.Smith, vol.I, p.170.
55. C.C.O., vol.II, June 1833, pp.257-266.

exception of those connected with village congregations, were "almost everywhere given up."[56] Finally, the success of Duff's experiment affected ideas of theological education and influenced missionaries more in favour of training Bengali preachers and teachers through English. The Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., particularly impressed by Duff's example, decided in 1834 to establish a "Head Seminary" in Calcutta for the instruction of Bengali preachers and teachers through English[57] and, by 1840, there was a strong feeling among the Bengal missionaries in general that preachers and teachers should be trained through this medium rather than through the vernacular.[58]

Dr. Duff made a powerful impression on almost all the Evangelical missionaries and it was partly through his efforts that the Calcutta Missionary Conference, founded a few years before his arrival, became a widely respected and influential organization. The Conference developed out of an informal gathering of Evangelical missionaries who met occasionally at the house of the Rev. William Pearce, one of the Baptist missionaries, in 1828.[59] Anglican missionaries (those

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56. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, February 1849, p.81.
57. C.M.S. CI1/M6 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Minute, 16 October 1834.
58. C.C.O., vol.IX, September 1840, pp.531-535.
59. G.Gogerly The Pioneers: A Narrative of facts connected with early Christian Missions in Bengal, London 1871, p.282; G.Smith, vol.I, p.165.

belonging to the C.M.S.) Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian missionaries all living in and around Calcutta took part in proceedings and, in the 1850's the Conference contained between twenty and thirty members.[60] Meetings were held on Tuesday after the first Sunday in each month, at the house of one of the missionaries, usually in rotation. The day began with a service followed by breakfast, and the missionaries settled down to business at 9 o'clock.[61] "The object of the Conference," wrote the Rev. Gogerly of the L.M.S., "is to promote mutual good will; to report on the progress of the different Missions; to receive and impart counsel; to give encouragement in cases of trial and difficulty; and to discuss such subjects as relate to the general interests of Christianity in India. Many important topics are brought forward," he added, "concerning which there may be at first considerable diversity of opinion; but on which, after candid and mutual explanations, the Conference generally arrives at an unanimous decision."[62] A wide variety of questions was discussed including the relative importance of various methods of evangelism, problems

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60. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, February 1849, pp.82-3; J.Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India, London 1863, p.170.
61. Gogerly, p.283.
62. Gogerly, p.283.

relating to converts and the growth of indigenous churches, the social condition of the ryots, the Government connection with Hindu temples, the laws of inheritance relating to converts and other important public questions.[63]

Members of the Conference not only received counsel and encouragement in their work, but developed a greater understanding of each other's position and grew more closely together in unity: partly because of this, the Conference was able to bring greater influence to bear on public opinion and on Indian and British Governments.[64]

The Conference published its own monthly magazine, the Calcutta Christian Observer, which was edited jointly by missionaries of different denominations.[65] The first issue appeared in June 1832 and the magazine soon became established as the most catholic and influential missionary periodical in Bengal.

The missionaries also had their own denominational

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63. A list of questions proposed for discussion from 1831 to 1865 at the Calcutta Missionary Conference was reprinted in C.C.O., vol.XXXIII, April 1865, pp.179-195.
64. Gogerly, pp.283-284; J.Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour, pp.172-173.
65. G.Smith, vol.I, pp.227-229; T.Smith Men Worth Remembering, p.84; C.C.O., vol.XVIII, February 1849, p.83.

periodical publications. One of the best of these was the Anglican Calcutta Christian Intelligencer,[66] which, under the Rev. Cuthbert in the 1850's, gradually became the organ of the C.M.S. missionaries. The L.M.S.missionaries published a weekly newspaper called the Calcutta Christian Advocate,[67] the Baptists the monthly Oriental Baptist and, after the disruption of the Scottish churches, the Free Church missionaries the Free Churchman.[68]

66. T.Smith Men Worth Remembering, p.85.
67. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, February 1849, p.83.
68. ibid., p.83.

CHAPTER I

James Long: Background, Education and Early Years in Bengal, 1815 - 1850

James Long was born on 3 June 1815[1] (the same year as the battle of Waterloo) in southern Ireland — probably in Cork.[2] His father, who signed himself as John Long "Gentleman" on James' marriage certificate in 1848,[3] appears to have had at least four children — a daughter and three sons. One son, Edward, became a Captain in the Merchant Service and the other two, James and Mortlock, became Protestant ministers — James, an Evangelical missionary of the Church of England, and Mortlock, a Wesleyan minister who, at the time of James' death in 1887, was living in Tranmore, County Waterford.[4]

James, who may well have been accompanying his father, spent part of his early life in Russia, a country

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1. C.M.S. Committee Minutes, 1 February 1839.
2. This information was supplied by Miss Jean Priest who was living in Western Australia in 1961 and is descended from Captain Edward Long, a brother of James.
3. J.Long Marriage Certificate, 10 June 1848 (Somerset House).
4. Grant of Letters of Administration of the Rev. James Long to the Rev. Mortlock Long, 3 September 1887 (Somerset House).

which he always found interesting and revisited in later life.[5] He spent six years in an endowed classical school, probably in southern Ireland, where, "besides all the branches of a liberal education," he studied "the works of Virgil, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal, Livy, Horace, Lucian, Homer and Xenophon".[6] At some later date he entered Dublin University, but does not appear to have taken a degree.[7]

He then became a teacher and, when he offered his services to the C.M.S. in 1838, was engaged as a tutor in "a gentleman's family" and was also teaching classics in a boarding school.[8] He was receiving £300 p.a. some of which, as he later explained, "curates would have been glad to accept", and he was given sufficient leisure for fairly extensive reading.[9]

His linguistic ability is clearly apparent and his interest in languages was probably stimulated by his early

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5. The Academy, 9 April 1887; J.Long A Visit to Russia in 1876, London [1876].
6. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838.
7. ibid.; C.M.S. Papers on India, vol.I. (An Appeal to our Universities - Appendix); C.M.S.CI1/0185/151 Long's Reply to Osburn's charges, 21 March 1849.
8. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838; C.M.S. Committee Minutes, 8 October 1838.
9. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838; CI1/0185/151 Long's Reply to Osburn's charges, 21 March 1849.

travel, as well as by his classical training. "I find great pleasure in the study of languages", he wrote in October 1838.[10] One of his referees, supporting his application for service as a missionary with the C.M.S., noted his "great facility for Languages" and explained that he was "well acquainted" with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French and Italian and had "some knowledge" of Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch.[11] Long hoped that his linguistic knowledge and understanding would prove a valuable asset in missionary activity[12] and it was, in fact, this ability which helps to explain his later achievements in the field of Bengali vernacular literature and vernacular education.

The Methodists and Anglican Evangelicals had been active in southern Ireland for many years[13] and hence it is not surprising that James Long was an Evangelical. Like other Evangelicals he emphasized "the entire and original depravity of man"; he believed in man's "total inability to save himself" and that his salvation, which "from first to last is all of grace", is obtained through faith" in the

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10. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838.
11. C.M.S. Committee Minutes (Clerical Sub-Committee) 8 October 1838.
12. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838.
13. F.E.Bland How the Church Missionary Society Came to Ireland, Dublin 1935, Chapters I to IX.

imputed righteousness of Christ with the Spirit's operations."[14] He also stressed the point that "the Essence of religion lies in its experimental truth" and that "unless we find the main doctrines and precepts of religion exemplified in our own hearts and lives, the mere mental conviction of the benefit of religion is of little moment."[15]

He was a convinced Anglican, believing in the value of Episcopacy and holding that the "doctrines, ceremonies and forms of prayer" of the Church of England were "all without any exception based on the eternal truths of the Bible."[16] But like other Evangelicals within the Anglican Church, he felt a great deal of sympathy for Nonconformists, and particularly for the Methodists[17] — his brother's denomination. On the other hand, he also shared the Evangelical and Protestant Irish antipathy to Catholics, although he would probably not have agreed with Duff's remark that "Popish idolatry" was "the most malignant form

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14. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838; Murray (ed.) Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford 1933.
15. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838.
16. ibid.; C.M.S. Committee Minutes (Clerical Sub-Committee) 8 October 1838.
17. M.M.S. MSS. Mysore 1858-1874, Long to Arthur, 21 February 1860.

of heathenism."[18] He held Catholicism "as guilty of idolatry as any of the worshippers of Krishna", but he believed that "enlightened" Catholics "seldom worship images, tho' they pay respect to them as they would to statues," and criticised just as severely "the rationalising Protestants of the Continent" who "adored reason" and "idolise their own understanding."[19] Moreover, he did not react as strongly against anything in the Anglican Church which might savour of "Popery" as did some of the other Anglican Evangelicals. He saw "no harm in painted glass windows or a picture over the altar, in turning to the East in the Creed, in bowing at the name of Jesus and various other observances allowed by Cranmer and Ridley."[20]

Writing in October 1838, Long referred to his conversion. "The Gracious Spirit", he wrote,"was pleased some years since to open my mind to the sense of the dreadful corruption of my nature, he then drew my attention to Calvary as the only hope of the sinner."[21] As a result

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18. C. of S. MSS. Duff to Gordon, 1 July 1846.
19. C.M.S. CI1/0185/151 Long's reply to Osburn's charges, 22 March 1849.
20. ibid.
21. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838.

of this conversion and because he was an Anglican Evangelical he offered himself for service as a missionary with the C.M.S. in September 1838. His motives in becoming a missionary seem to have been the same as those of other Evangelicals who were drawn to the mission field as a result of, and in grateful response to what they believed was the love of Christ.[22] "As Christ has brought to my view the vast importance of saving my own soul," wrote Long, "and assured he has equal love for others as for me, I would consider myself as most ungrateful to that Saviour if motives of worldly ease should hinder me from publishing to the perishing Heathen the grace that found out even me."[23] His love for others was, above all else, a concern for their spiritual condition. "The thought of 800 millions passing into eternity every 30 years without a ray of hope often overwhelms me..." he wrote, "as I ask myself the question am I doing my part to avert these dire consequences."[24] This sense of urgency so often apparent in the Methodist revival and in the preaching of

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22. J.Van Den Berg Constrained by Jesus' Love (an inquiry into the motives of the missionary awakening in Great Britain in the period between 1698 and 1815) Kampen 1956 — see especially pp.156-159.
23. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838.
24. ibid.

Evangelicals[25] was sharpened in Long's case by his fervent belief in "the wrath to come".[26]

But, in spite of the urgency of the task, Long did not expect rapid or easy success in the mission field.[27] He was always a realist and this probably saved him from the disillusionment that affected at least one of his missionary colleagues.[28] Like some of the Evangelicals, particularly those connected with the C.M.S.,[29] he was wary of the romantic attitude towards missions. In 1838 he stated, for example, that there was "nothing romantic in the Missionary work" and added that he viewed it as a life of "unceasing toil and exertion".[30] When writing from the mission field in April 1843 he again pointed out that "the Romance of Missions must be done away with" and claimed that in England "the public mind... has contracted a morbid taste — pictures of the Sublime and Beautiful have entranced the mind instead of the sober realities of truth. My own occupations possess much sameness of detail", he continued, "I have no narrative of encounters with tigers,

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25. Van Den Berg, p.78; L.E.Elliott-Binns The Early Evangelicals: A Religious and Social Study, London 1953, p.387.
26. C.M.S. CI1/0185/33 Long to Venn, 18 August 1854.
27. C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842.
28. The Rev. J.Osborne. See, for example, Osborne's letter to Henry Venn [CI1/0218/2, 2 June 1845] two years before he resigned from the C.M.S. in 1847.
29. Van Den Berg, p.155.
30. C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838.

persecutions from infuriated Brahmins, wanderings in the jungle etc. to mention to you."[31]

After being interviewed and examined by the Clerical Sub-Committee of the C.M.S., Long was accepted as a missionary candidate and sent to the Society's training college at Islington in November 1838, "with a view to its being considered whether Mr. Long might not then go out to Calcutta in order to be placed in charge of the Head Seminary there."[32] There were then about twenty-four other students in residence at Islington and two of these, the Rev.J.Innes, the senior student, and J.Osborne, were later associated with Long in Calcutta. Nine of the students were ordained, others were in training for deacon's orders and others for work as lay preachers in various parts of the mission field.[33] The C.M.S. regulations encouraged the Principal of the College, the Rev.J.N.Pearson and the College Tutor to regard the students as a family, to fraternize with them and to give them as much individual assistance as possible.[34]

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31. C.M.S. CI1/0185/2 Long to Parent Committee, 13 April 1843.
32. C.M.S.Committee Minutes (Clerical Sub-Committee) 16, 30 October, 6 November 1838, 1 February 1839.
33. C.M.S. Committee Minutes (Principal's Report) 1 February 1839.
34. Proceedings of the C.M.S., 1829-30, Appendix III, Regulations of the C.M.S.Institution at Islington.

Discipline in the College, which was to some extent regulated by the senior students, was of "no ordinary strictness".[35] The Principal attended to the students' theological studies and the Tutor to their literary and scientific education.[36] Academic standards among the students varied greatly — some of the men having had a university education, while others needed coaching at an elementary level in subjects like Arithmetic and English Expression.[37]

While most of the students, including Long, studied a wide range of subjects, including the Bible, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, Logic and Chemistry, very little in the course was strictly related to work in the mission field.[38] In fact, there was practically nothing in the curriculum which would indicate that Islington was a missionary and not an ordinary theological college. During Long's period of residence there do not appear to have been any classes studying Oriental or African languages or non-Christian religions. There was little if any examination of conditions in the mission field and no classes discussing missionary strategy.[39]

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35. C.M.S.Committee Minutes, 24 April 1840.
36. Proceedings of the C.M.S., 1829-30, Appendix III.
37. C.M.S.Committee Minutes, 1 February, 21 March, 26 July, 25 October 1839; 4 February, 24 April 1840.
38. ibid.
39. ibid.

In a letter to the C.M.S.Committee, written the day before Long entered the College, the Principal (the Rev. Pearson) explained that he seemed to be a man "of considerable energy, capable of sedentary labours" and that his reading had been "considerable"; but at the same time Pearson compared him unfavourably with another of his students, Edward Rogers, whom the Committee were also contemplating sending to Calcutta. Although in Pearson's opinion Long was the better scholar, Rogers was "his superior in manners, and probably in ripeness of mind and practical judgment."[40] In another letter, written ten days later, Pearson argued that the Rev. J.Innes was already "a decidedly better man, on the whole, for Calcutta", than Long would be six months later.[41] Yet when he retired in the following year, Pearson left his successor, the Rev. C.F.Child, in no doubt about Long's abilities. "Long", he is reported to have said, "is a remarkable fellow, undoubtedly clever and original. They tell me that he knows nine languages, but I am not prepared to vouch for the fact!" In his memoirs Child says he trembled at the thought of having such a pupil, but that he proved "too sensible to give himself airs."[42]

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40. C.M.S.Committee Minutes, 20 November 1838.
41. ibid., 18 December 1838.
42. Quoted in Stock, vol.II, pp.76-77.

In March 1839 the Principal recommended Long and Osborne for deacon's orders and, on 26 May, they were ordained deacons by the Bishop of London.[43] They were made priests in June 1840 and in July, before the full Committee of the C.M.S., and in the presence of friends and relatives, were given their final instructions.[44] Long's task was to assist the Rev. Innes in conducting the Head Seminary at Calcutta.[45] Ten days later he, the Rev. Osborne and a number of other C.M.S.missionaries and their wives embarked on board the 900 ton Plantagenet which sailed for Calcutta the following day.[46]

The journey via the Cape of Good Hope, took over four months — the Plantagenet arriving in Calcutta on 15 November 1840. "Through God's goodness we all arrived safely at this place yesterday and were truly glad to set foot on the shores of India after our long voyage", wrote the Rev. Osborne on the sixteenth. "We left the Cape on the 23rd of Sept. and came up with the Pilot brig at the Sand-heads on the 12th instant," he continued. "The weather has been remarkably fine, and our health good, so

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43. C.M.S.Committee Minutes, 19 March 1839; C.M.R., vol.X, May 1839, p.112.
44. C.M.R., vol.XI, June 1840, p.135, July 1840, pp.158-159; C.M.S.Committee Minutes, 3 July 1840.
45. C.M.S. CI1/M12 Long to Cuthbert, 22 October 1849; CI1/0185/32 Long to Parent Committee, July 1854.
46. C.M.R., vol.XI, July 1840, p.159; Englishman, 23 December 1840.

that we have been able to pursue our Bengali & other studies, and to have our Lord's day services very regularly. We have on the whole enjoyed our voyage, although of course there are trials which every one must expect to meet with. The first sight of India and the Natives was most interesting to me, and I rejoice greatly in the work to which I have set my hand... "[47]

When Long arrived at the C.M.S. headquarters at Mirzapur, near the centre of the city, he found that plans for the C.M.S. Head Seminary had, at least temporarily fallen through.[48] There had been some staffing diffculties[49] and the scheme was opposed by the Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Wilson, who feared that the new seminary would endanger the existence and prosperity of Bishop's College (conducted by missionaries of the S.P.G.).[50] The students became dissatisfied with the "strict economy" which, as a matter of deliberate policy, was adopted in the seminary;[51]

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47. C.M.S. CI1/0218 Osborne to Venn, 16 November 1840; Englishman, 16 November 1840.
48. C.M.S. CI1/M12 Long to Cuthbert, 22 October 1849.
49. C.M.S. CI1/M7 Chapman to Coates, 21 June 1837.
50. C.M.S. CI1/08/4/6 Bishop Wilson to Jowett, 9 March 1837; CI1/M7 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 12 June 1837; C.M.S.Committee Minutes, 23 May 1837; CI1/M7 Wybrow to Coates, 16 July 1838; CI1/M8 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 14 May 1841.
51. C.M.S.CI1/M6 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Minutes, 16 October 1834; C.M.S.Committee Minutes, 16 June 1835.

they soon became aware that the C.M.S. and S.P.G. authorities were competing for them and decided to take advantage of the situation by demanding improved conditions. The Corresponding Committee refused to give way and some of the students left. As the remainder continued in a state of "constant grumbling and discontent" and made little progress in their studies, it was decided to send them back to their respective districts.[52] However, the seminary building had been commenced and it was resolved to re-establish the institution "on the first favourable opportunity."[53]

Owing to the failure of the seminary, Long was directed by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee to take charge of the Society's English (or Anglo-Vernacular) school for non-Christian students on the Mirzapur premises, "with a view to rendering it as efficient as possible."[54] This was one of the largest English schools connected with the C.M.S. in Bengal. But, although it was founded in 1823, well before the similar type of schools in Calcutta conducted by the Scottish, Independent and Baptist missionaries, it was not as big, it does not appear to

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52. C.M.S. CI1/M7 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 21 and 28 September 1837.
53. C.M.S. CI1/M7 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 21 September 1837.
54. C.M.S. CI1/M8 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 19 November 1840.

have taken students to the same level, nor was it in such a flourishing condition.[55]

The school had, in fact, been showing marked signs of instability. Attendance was lax and the school population varied considerably at different periods.[56] The staffing problem was serious. The school suffered from frequent changes in its superintendents (there were at least five in the six years immediately preceding Long's appointment)[57] and in this situation there could be little continuity or settled development of the educational programme. Finally, although the object of the school seems to have been evangelism, only about one student had been

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55. Missionary Register, 1841, p.198; B.M.S. Annual Report 1841, p.12; F.A.Cox History of the Baptist Missionary Society, vol.II, pp.294-297; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, August 1852, p.293.

56. In 1830, for example, there were about 110 pupils in daily attendance, but, by the end of 1831, this number had dropped to 60 — partly it was argued, because of the growing competition from other Anglo-vernacular schools established in the area. Under the Rev. K.M.Bannerjea, however, the school enjoyed a period of prosperity and, in 1833, the number of pupils in daily attendance rose to 160. But, by 1838, the number had again dropped — this time to 120. [C.M.R., vol.III, August 1832, p.162; C.M.R., vol.V, January 1834, p.1; C.M.S. CI1/0253/14 Sandys to Parent Committee, 13 November 1838.]

57. C.M.R., vol.V, January 1834, p.1; C.M.R., vol.VIII, February 1836, p.28; C.M.S. CI1/0253/14 Sandys to Parent Committee, 13 November 1838; CI1/0253/16 Sandys to Jowett, 25 October 1839; CI1/0253/17 Sandys to Jowett, 14 March 1840.

converted to Christianity since its foundation eighteen years before.[58]

In spite of Long's enthusiasm for the training of Bengali preachers, and in spite of the sudden change in his plans, he was by no means dissatisfied with his new task as superintendent. "I feel quite happy in my work", he wrote in October 1842, "I believe I can never be happier in this world than I am now in Calcutta."[59] He was, in fact, thoroughly convinced of the important part English education could play in evangelism.[60] He greatly admired Dr. Duff[61] and was strongly influenced by his educational ideas. He read Duff's India and India Missions, published in 1839,[62] and associated more with him than with his C.M.S. colleagues. "I have always lived in unity and harmony with our Missionaries Sandys and Osborne", he wrote in 1846, "but I have been always more intimate with Dr. Duff of the Scotch Church — simply because we agree so thoroughly in our views as to the bearing of education on Missions, besides our natural temperaments and general opinions coincide to a great extent — I see Dr. Duff almost every week at his house", he added, "and am more intimate with him than with any Missionary in Calcutta."[63]

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58. C.M.S. C/Il/0185/126 Annual Report 1846.
59. C.M.S. CIl/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842.
60. C.M.S. CIl/0185/2 Long to Parent Committee, 13 April 1843.
61. ibid.
62. C.M.S. CIl/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842.
63. C.M.S. CIl/0185/17 Long to Venn, 7 November 1846.

Long was inclined to side with Duff and the Scottish missionaries in favour of education against some of the other Bengal missionaries who felt that preaching was of greater importance.[64] Those who favoured preaching argued that it was a method adopted by the apostles and was thoroughly scriptural; and while, in their opinion, preaching was "God's ordained instrument for the salvation of the world"[65] education was "contrary to apostolic example."[66] It was also argued that few converts were made through education, that teaching made very little impression and that what was acquired at school was lost in after life.[67]

Those who favoured education also stressed the importance of results and they wondered how many converts had been made from preaching![68] In Long's opinion, the Bengali adult mind was "most lethargic — nearly insensible to religious impressions" and hence ordinary preaching had little effect.[69] Like Duff, he was willing to admit that preaching might be useful in certain situations, but it was "not so useful as preaching in schools," or, in other words, as "the oral declaration of the Gospel to the pupils while

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64. C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842.
65. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, November 1842, p.512.
66. A.Duff India and India Missions, p.353.
67. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, November 1842, pp.512-518.
68. ibid., p.513.
69. C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, p.87; C.M.S.CI1/0185/4. Long to Parent Committee, 26 August 1845.

still engaged in the usual routine of school duties."[70] And like Duff and some other missionaries, Long believed that, though the results of education might not be immediately apparent, it was, nevertheless, breaking down prejudice, undermining Hinduism and preparing for the time when conversions would follow.[71] Finally, he pointed out that, whilst missionaries engaged in education could devote much of their time to the actual work of teaching, preachers could not spend so much time in their work and, because of the climate, were precluded from itinerating except during the cold season.[72]

Long's views on the respective merits of preaching and education coincided more with those of the Scottish missionaries than with those of the C.M.S.[73] Henry Venn, himself, probably believed that preaching was relatively more important,[74] but he refused to be drawn into any discussion with Long on the comparative value of the two methods. "The Lord", he wrote in a letter to Long in

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70. C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, p.87.
71. C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842; Duff India and India Missions, pp.346-351; Calcutta Christian Advocate, 21 October 1843; C.C.O., vol.III, July 1834, pp.319-325.
72. C.M.S. CI1/0185/2 Long to Parent Committee, 13 April 1843.
73. C.M.R., vol.XXVII, September 1856, p.217; C.M.S. CI1/037/9 Barton to Venn, 14 May 1861.
74. W.Knight Memoir of the Rev. H.Venn, London 1880, pp.166-167.

1843, "not only gives to different persons qualifications specially suited to either the one or other department, but also in his providence directs & opens the way for the more zealous prosecution of one or the other branch of labour. He has evidently qualified you for, and called you to the work of education, & given you large oportunities [sic] for exercising this talent. May he give the increase so that you may make it ten talents."[75]

Like other missionaries engaged in English education Long's explicit aim was to convert his students to Christianity.[76] And like Duff and others, he believed that the most effective way of doing this was not only by the positive teaching of Christianity, but also by a negative process of destroying his students' faith in Hinduism, rooting out prejudice and preparing their minds for the eventual acceptance of Christian ideas.[77] "In writing to you I have no conversions to mention", he began

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75. C.M.S. CI1/L3 Venn to Long, 11 July 1843.
76. C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842; CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846; F.A.Cox History of the Baptist Missionary Society, vol.II, pp.295-6; Calcutta Christian Advocate, 21 October 1843; Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, New Series, vol.III, No. 5, December 1858, p.100 (Duff to Tweedie, 22 September 1858).
77. G.Smith, vol.I, pp.106-110; Calcutta Christian Advocate, 21 October 1843; C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, pp.502, 504, 497.

in a letter to the C.M.S., "It is the earnest wish of my soul to see this. I pray for them; but I do not adopt them as a test of usefulness. I consider myself in the light of a labourer cleaning away the rubbish which obstructs the entrance to the great temple of Truth: 'Their works do follow them'."[78] Thus he accepted the view — perhaps more generally held among missionaries since the success of Duff's work in the 1830's — that one of the functions of a missionary was to prepare the way for Christianity as well as proclaim the Gospel, not merely by creating useful aids to evangelism (such as literature) but by preparing favourable social and/or intellectual conditions.

Long acted as superintendent of the school at Mirzapur from 1840 (with one break of about eighteen months) until 1849. During this period he made some alterations in the course of study. He continued to place emphasis on Bible study and introduced into the curriculum a number of books written by Christian poets and philosophers — many of these already being read in

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78. C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842.

Duff's College.[79] But he was also concerned with the practical problems involved in administration and teaching. He increased the proportion of Christian teachers on his staff[80] and introduced a system of teacher training in an effort to improve teaching methods throughout the school. In 1844, he adopted on a restricted scale, Bell's monitorial system which was used in other mission schools. "Six of the Christian boys", he wrote, "give instruction for an hour daily to junior boys in Reading and Arithmetic — they are thus gradually trained to teaching and have an opportunity of speaking on Christianity with the junior boys."[81] In 1846, he was devoting nearly an hour daily to instructing his teachers.[82] They were expected to sit for examinations and, in October 1849, the Rev. Hasell who was assisting in the school noted that "Mr. Long has announced

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79. Among the books used in Duff's College and introduced by Long into the school at Mirzapur were Abercrombie's Mental and Moral Philosophy, Butler's Analogy, Robertson's Charles V, Bacon's Essays, Young's Night Thoughts, Milton's Paradise Lost, Cowper's Poems and Duff's Christian Instructor. /Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, London 1848, pp.396, 481-482; Home and Foreign Missionary Record (C. of S.) No. 17, vol.II, May 1843, p.224; C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842; CI1/0185/6 Long to Venn, 14 March 1844; CI1/0185/127 Annual Report 1844; CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846; CI1/0185/115 Journal,19 May 1846/7.
80. C.M.R., vol.VIII, June 1837, p.126; vol.XXI, July 1850, p.147; C.M.S. CI1/M11 Cuthbert to Venn, 3 June 1847.
81. C.M.S. CI1/0185/127 Annual Report 1844; J.Long (ed.) Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education, Calcutta 1868, pp.1-2.
82. C.M.S. CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846.

an examination of Teachers, and intimated in plain terms, that reduction in salaries, degradation and finally dismissal will be the effects of incompetency to pass satisfactorily."[83]

However, the proportion of well qualified and competent teachers on the school staff was likely to be affected by the salaries offered; but these were outside Long's control and were determined by the Corresponding Committee. Teachers were in fact poorly paid and the Committee was seldom if ever willing to raise salaries — even when Long wrote in support of his teachers' claim.[84] "The Salary hitherto paid to the Teachers is too small", confessed the Rev. Cuthbert, Secretary, in 1849, "that of the Head Master having for some time been only Rs.60 per month, which is by no means sufficient to secure the services of an efficient European or even E.Indian teacher, as will be seen from the fact that when last we were in want of a head teacher the best qualified candidate that came forward for the place was the fourth master in the principal school of the L.M.S. here. Our Head Master consequently only takes the appointment for a time, whilst

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83. C.M.S. CI1/M12 Hasell to Cuthbert, 25 October 1849.
84. C.M.S. CI1/M8 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 27 April 1841; CI1/M9, 5 December 1844.

he is looking for something better, his heart is not in the School and he soon leaves it to be succeeded by another of a similar stamp. In the course of about 2 years there have been four head masters and the present one will not answer and must soon leave. The salaries given to the under teachers, natives, are also too low to obtain efficient men."[85]

Long paid careful attention to his own teaching techniques, as well as to the general standard of teaching throughout the school, and, like Dr. Duff, he adopted methods which were likely to stimulate a spirit of enquiry. He attempted to excite a taste for reading and "to enlarge the mind," by giving a series of lectures on a wide range of miscellaneous subjects.[86] Pupils were encouraged to develop a habit of asking questions.[87] They were trained to question each other in religious instruction[88] and this system — extended to the teaching of secular subjects — was, in the opinion of the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru who attended the Annual Examination in 1844, "an admirable method of drawing forth all the exertions of the boys individually."[89] In the senior

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85. C.M.S. C/Il/M11 Cuthbert to Venn, 8 October 1849.
86. C.M.R., vol.XIII, April 1842, p.80.
87. ibid.
88. ibid.; C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, p.87.
89. Quoted in C.M.R., vol.XV, October 1844, pp.215-216.

classes, lessons were made more varied and interesting by the introduction of outside speakers,[90] and in the lower classes, in particular, by the use of prints, pictures and natural objects.[91] As an added spur to interest and activity, friends and relatives of pupils were invited to attend the monthly examinations[92] and, as early as 1841, Long was planning to give prizes. The Corresponding Committee, however, refused to give him the money as, they stated, "they do not approve of the system of giving prizes in their heathen schools and the funds of the Society would not permit them to make grants to all the schools in connection with the C.M.Society."[93]

When in 1846, the school population reached a record peak of 226 boys, Long felt he was in a strong enough position to take drastic measures in an attempt to solve the problem of lax attendance. "We revise our lists regularly", he wrote, "and expel publicly every boy irregular in attendance."[94] This policy may have had some temporary effect, but by the end of 1849, attendance was little better than it had been before he arrived in

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90. C.M.S. CI1/0185/6 Long to Venn, 14 March 1844.
91. C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, p.86; C.M.S. CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846.
92. J.Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, pp.396-397.
93. C.M.S. CI1/M8 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 30 December 1841.
94. C.M.S. CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846.

1840.[95] Nor was it easy to encourage pupils to continue their education for a longer period. The school lost many of its most promising students when they reached what Long regarded as an important stage in their religious development "when the mind is most susceptible of the influence of truth",[96] and the entire syllabus had to be planned so as it could be completed by the time the boys reached the age of sixteen or seventeen.[97] As a result of a staff conference at the school in 1846, Long decided to establish four scholarships, awarded on a monthly basis, which would enable senior pupils of poor parents to continue their studies at school for a longer period.[98] But these measures were still painfully inadequate, and in 1849, the Rev. Cuthbert complained that the Corresponding Committee still had no large funds for scholarships and rewards, "which so powerfully stimulate young men to exertions for self improvement in the government and other schools, and both attract clever young men to those schools, and enable them to continue their attendance much longer than they otherwise could or would do so."[99]

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95. C.M.R., vol.V, January 1834, p.1; C.M.S. CI1/0253/63 Sandy's Journal, 17 November 1838; C.M.R., vol.XXI, July 1850, p.146.
96. C.M.S. CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846; CI1/0185/126 Annual Report 1843.
97. C.M.S. CI1/0185/126 Annual Report 1843.
98. C.M.S. CI1/0185/115 Long's Journal, 22 April 1846; CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846.
99. C.M.S. CI1/M11 Cuthbert to Venn, 8 October 1849.

When Long resigned as superintendent of the school in 1849, there can be little doubt that it was in a much more stable position than it had been in 1840. The number of pupils had increased more steadily from 120, when Long commenced his superintendence, to more than 200 in regular attendance in 1849.[100] This increase took place at a time when rival Hindu and missionary English schools were being founded in increasing numbers in and around Calcutta and in spite of the fierce opposition to missionary education organized by Hindus and Brahmos in 1845-47.[101]

Some outside observers were indeed impressed with the progress of the school at various stages in the 1840's. In a confidential letter to the C.M.S. in 1842, Archdeacon Pratt, who had examined the school "more than once" referred to its "flourishing character" under Long's superintendence[102] and, in the same year, the Calcutta Corresponding Committee also noted its pleasing progress.[103] In 1847 the Church

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100. C.M.R., vol.XIII, April 1842, p.80; vol.XVI, April 1846, p.83; vol.XIX, June 1848, p.115; vol.XX, August 1849, p.171; vol.XXI, July 1850, p.146; C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842; CI1/0185/126, CI1/0185/127, CI1/0185/128 Annual Reports, 1843, 1844 and 1846.

101. M.M.Ali The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities, 1833-1857, University of London, Doctoral Thesis, 1963, pp.113-118; C.M.S. CI1/0185/12 Long to Venn, 7 August 1845; CI1/0185/13 Long to Parent Committee, 1 October 1845; CI1/0185/14 Long to Venn, 7 November 1845; C.M.R., vol.XVIII, April 1846,p.83.

102. C.M.S. CI1/0231/2 Pratt to Secs. of C.M.S., 15 February 1842.

103. Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Minute, 27 January 1842.

Missionary Association (composed of local supporters of the C.M.S.) declared that the school was then "on as efficient a footing as it ever was"[104] and, in 1850, a contributor to the Calcutta Review, who had been present at a quarterly examination at the school sometime before was "particularly struck with the progress of the children" and added that "certainly great praise is due to Mr. Long and his colleagues for their unwearied exertions and untiring zeal in imparting a sound education to the indigent children of the Hindus."[105]

Others, however, were disappointed and stressed the fact that the school could never bear comparison with either of the two great Scottish schools.[106] Writing in October 1849, the Rev. Cuthbert argued that the school had never been in a condition satisfactory or creditable to the C.M.S. "Friends of Missions who have seen the large Missionary School here", he wrote, "especially those of the Scotch, are greatly disappointed on visiting the largest C.M.S. school in Calcutta to find it so limited in the number of boys (between 200 & 300 whilst others have 500, 800, 1000 & more) and the proficiency of the

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104. J.Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.396.
105. Calcutta Review, No. XXVI, June 1850, p.461.
106. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, August 1852, p.293.

higher classes by no means equal to that of corresponding classes in other institutions. This has a prejudicial effect on the Society's character as an efficient Missionary body, as most visitors content themselves with merely inspecting the schools of a Mission they being at hand and things that all understand something about, whilst more strictly Missionary work is out of their reach. So that many friends have felt that, as far as the Society's character is concerned it would be better to break up the School altogether than to continue it on its present footing." However, Cuthbert pointed out that he blamed neither Long nor Hasell for this situation and explained that serious difficulties arose because of the low level of salaries and limited system of scholarships and rewards which were the result of inadequate funds. In conclusion, he informed the C.M.S. Parent Committee that the Calcutta Committee was anxious to raise the school "to a state of efficiency and respectability worthy of the Society", and recommended that the C.M.S. should send out "to their leading Educational Institution in the Metropolis of India", a man "qualified to raise its character and efficiency to the level at which they ought to stand."[107]

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107. C.M.S. CI1/MI1 Cuthbert to Venn, 8 October 1849.

Long himself became increasingly disappointed with the lack of conversions and, referring to the school in 1846, he wrote that "It is... with me a subject of deep regret that since its establishment in 1823* up to 1846 not more than two converts have been produced from it — notwithstanding that the truths of the gospel have been plainly and fully preached to the boys in it ... Various boys", he added, "who have been educated here, tho' at school intellectually convinced of the truth of Christianity, when they have entered on the active duties of life, sunk either into a state of indifferentism to all religion or have sought for a refuge in the chilling doctrines of Deism, which in the form of Vedantism is our great antagonist now in Calcutta."[108] In the same year (1846) one of Long's students came forward as a candidate for baptism, but was decoyed by relatives and disappeared.[109] In 1847, there was another convert from the school[110] and, judging from Long's journals, there were probably also inquirers;[111] but, even so, three converts in about 24 years could not be called an encouraging result.

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108. C.M.S. CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846.
109. C.M.S. CI1/1085/16 Long to Venn, 2 May 1846.
110. C.M.R., vol.XIX, June 1848, p.114.
111. C.M.S. CI1/0185/115 Journal, 3, 12 May 1846; CI1/0185/116 Journal, 21 May 1849.

* This date is incorrect. See Handbook of Bengal Missions, p. 115.

What Long found particularly distressing was the fact that some of the products of the mission English school system were not only not converted to Christianity, but were amongst its most inveterate opponents. "In fact," he wrote in March 1849, "I find that some of the worst men we can have as teachers are these young men who have been brought up in Mission Schools, but who have resisted yielding to the truth in acknowledging Christ by baptism. Their last state is worse than the first."[112]

But he was also disappointed with the attitude of Bengali students to English education in general. He remarked that the object of his own students seemed to be "to cram themselves with as much English as will just qualify them to be Keranies, or 'quill-drivers'."[113] The result of this attitude he explained elsewhere was that students in English schools left at a comparatively early age and in his opinion carried away "mere words" and continued "in the same state as many did on the old Grammar School system of England, when they entered little into the beauty of the classics, and were unable even to write a letter in correct English."[114]

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112. C.M.S. CI1/0185/20 Long to Parent Committee, 3 March 1849.
113. C.M.R., vol.XXI, July 1850, p.147; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1849, p.349 and December 1849, p.563.
114. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, December 1849, p.563.

Long was also changing his ideas about the practicability of training converts as teachers and preachers through the medium of English. One of his minor duties on the mission premises was the supervision of a small school for Christian children. Classes were in English and he paid particular attention to their religious education.[115] He had been extremely disappointed by the failure of the C.M.S. Head Seminary and was hoping in 1842 that some of the Christian boys would eventually become "well-informed Catechists and Schoolmasters."[116] But these plans had also to be abandoned. In a letter to the C.M.S., in October 1845, he explained that his work with the Christian students was "always beginning", and that "when they reach the age that their minds are fully opened, they wish to get a situation, then to get married and so little improvement takes place after."[117]

This experience, together with the experience of other missionaries, slowly convinced him of the difficulties the C.M.S., in particular, must encounter in trying to retain the services of teachers and preachers

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115. C.M.S. CI1/0185/1 Long to Coates, 15 October 1842; C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, p.87.
116. C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, p.87; C.M.S.CI1/0185/2 Long to Parent Committee, 13 April 1843.
117. C.M.S. CI1/0185/13 Long to Parent Committee, 1 October 1845.

trained through English.[118] The Society could not afford to pay its Bengali agents higher salaries[119] and yet those educated through English developed expensive tastes and habits and usually demanded increased salaries.[120] When these were refused, they very often left the Society for some other more lucrative employment. The case of the English educated school teachers was typical. "The experience of the past has been," wrote Long in 1850, "they become discontented with their salary and position and either accept secular employment, enter Bishop's College, or join some other body."[121] Consequently, Long was beginning to feel that the C.M.S. might find it easier to retain preachers and teachers trained entirely through the vernacular, as it seemed less likely that they would become discontented or be offered tempting salaries outside the Society's service.[122]

Although in the 1840's, Long recognized the importance of preparing for future evangelism — in

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118. C.M.S. CI1/0185/8 Long to Coates, 7 April 1845; CI1/0185/9 Long to Parent Committee, 29 April 1845.
119. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1849, pp.347-8; C.M.S. CI1/0185/60 Long to Cotton, 1 June 1859.
120. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, December 1849. pp.561-562; C.M.S. CI1/0185/22 Long to Venn, 7 August 1849; CI1/0185/129 Long's Annual Report 1849.
121. C.M.S. CI1/0185/25 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 1 June 1850.
122. C.M.S. CI1/M12 Long and Sandys to Cuthbert, October or November 1849; C.M.S. CI1/0185/22 Long to Venn, 7 August 1849.

particular, by training others as preachers and teachers and by promoting English education (which he believed could play an important part in creating conditions favourable to the spread of Christianity) he, nevertheless, attempted to do a great deal himself by way of direct evangelism among the people. He did this, not only by "the oral declaration of the Gospel" in the classroom, but also by preaching to adults, disseminating religious literature and by developing his own system of "district visiting".

In Calcutta, and in other large cities, where missionaries had been working for some time they found it advisable to erect small chapels of more or less durable material where the Gospel could be preached at any hour of the day and in all weathers.[123] The audience was able to sit in comfort while the speakers were not disturbed by the noise of traffic to the same extent as they had been when preaching in the open air. Each one of the missionary societies had one or more of these buildings — sometimes known as "bungalow" chapels — in different parts of the city where their own or other missionaries and catechists could preach.[124] Long accompanied by catechists, commenced preaching in the C.M.S.chapel at

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123. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, February 1849, p.78.
124. ibid.; Gogerly, pp. 56-57.

Potuldunga — in the vicinity of the Hindu and Medical Colleges — in 1842.[125] He preached in Bengali, but found this difficult as all his previous preaching and teaching had been in English. "The congregation", he explained, "is in a fluctuating state, like Bengalee congregations generally: some come for a short time, and are succeeded by others. Sometimes we have long and animated discussions with Brahmins and Mussulmans. The Mussulmans are by far the most obstinate class of opponents: they adduce the most frivolous objections... When preaching is concluded, I always circulate among them a number of Bengalee and Hindoostanee Tracts, which are eagerly received."[126]

In 1843, when the Rev. Osborne returned to Calcutta from the C.M.S. mission station at Agurpara where he had been for some time, he took over these preaching duties and Long was freed to develop the system he called "district visiting". He also described this as the practice of visiting "from house to house"[127] and explained that, in this way, he conversed with small

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125. C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, p.85.
126. C.M.R., vol.XIV, April 1843, pp. 86-87.
127. C.M.S. CI1/0185/4 Long to Parent Committee, 26 August 1843; CI1/0185/122 Annual Report 1846.

groups that gathered round "on the nature and excellency of Christianity", and distributed tracts and portions of Scripture.[128] The offer of a tract to those he met usually gave him an opportunity to discuss religious subjects. "I generally ask those I meet with two questions", he wrote. "Are you anxious to go to Heaven? If so, here is a book, the Bible, which points out the road. It gives you a map, and time is flying rapidly away. You must repent today, tomorrow is not yours."[129] This approach was sometimes varied to suit particular circumstances, but the sense of urgency and crisis was usually there.[130]

By the end of 1846, Long claimed he had traversed over 600 lanes and gullies in Calcutta and had generally been well received. "In no case have I met with insult", he wrote, "except from a few Vedantists on one occasion,"[131] In 1849, he stated that he had visited almost every Bengali home in the city[132] and, even when attending a C.M.S. conference at Burdwan, he recorded in his journal

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128. C.M.S. CI1/0185/4 Long to Parent Committee, 26 August 1843.
129. C.M.S. CI1/0185/116 Long's Journal, 14 March 1849.
130. C.M.S. CI1/0185/115 Long's Journal, 19 April and 24 May 1846; CI1/0185/116 Long's Journal, 13 April 1849; CI1/0185/8 Long to Coates, 7 April 1845; CI1/0185/4 Long to Parent Committee, 26 August 1843.
131. C.M.S. CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846.
132. C.M.S. CI1/M12 Long to Cuthbert, 22 October 1849.

proceeding at seven o'clock one morning to visit "from house to house" and "bring the gospel before the Natives."[133]

There is some evidence that other missionaries and catechists also used this method of evangelism,[134] but the practice was probably not commonly adopted.[135] Long himself felt it was a method which could well be extended[136] and it was recommended by the C.M.S. missionaries at one of their conferences held in November 1846. "A conversation having taken place on the subject of visiting the Heathen and Mussulman population at their houses", reads the report, "with a view both to disseminate the holy scriptures and also to converse upon Christian Truth, with the natives, especially of the upper classes; it was agreed that such is a most important mode of Missionary operation, and should by all means be continued, in addition to the more direct and public preaching of the Gospel, as bringing the Missionary into communication with natives of a class that will not be induced to attend places appointed for

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133. C.M.S. CI1/0185/116 Journal, 11 March 1849.
134. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, December 1851, pp.445-448; B.M.S. Annual Report for year ending 31 March 1855, p.12.
135. C.M.R., 1840-1850 (Annual Reports).
136. C.M.S. CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846.

preaching."[137]

Like many other missionaries during this period, Long also spent some of his time involved in pastoral duties. From 1843 to 1849, he spent at least one Sunday in the month attending to the spiritual oversight of about 300 Christians living at Thakurpukur,[138] eleven miles south of Calcutta, or scattered in other villages in the surrounding area.[139]

The district was intersected with swamps and, writing in 1848, Long described the neighbourhood as "composed of groups of villages seated on little knolls, elevated but a few feet above the level of the country, which has the appearance of a fresh-water lake; during eight months in the year," he continued, "the villages are accessible only by canoes, scooped out of the trunks of trees. Many of the houses have a picturesque appearance, built on mounds in the midst of rice-fields."[140] Consequently, Long's visits took him straight out of the busy semi-westernized environment of the city into the

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137. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/5 Bengal District Conference Report, 18-20 November 1846.
138. Long claimed that its name was derived from a "Thakur or image" which had at one time been placed by a large "pukur or marsh" nearby. / Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, October 1849, p.498; What May be Done, A Tract for those engaged in Education, n.d., n.p., p.4./
139. C.M.S. CI1/0185/126 Annual Report 1843; CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849.
140. Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.118.

peaceful and more traditional atmosphere of village India — into a district which, because of its swampy surroundings, malarious climate and economic backwardness, attracted few new settlers or European visitors from the outside world.[141]

There were few brahmans in the immediate neighbourhood and the people, who were mostly simple ryots and fishermen, were lower caste Hindus, and Muslims as well as Christians.[142] The Christians were generally "in a very destitute condition", and were persecuted by the non-Christian zamindar.[143] A number of Bengali lay preachers lived among them, but the children, with very few exceptions, received "no instruction whatever".[144] When Long visited the villages on a Sunday he generally read the church service or administered "the Lord's Supper" at Thakurpukur itself (where a small bungalow chapel had been erected) and, instead of preaching a sermon, instructed the people "catechetically", as he

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141. Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.118; C.M.S. CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849; CI1/0185/144 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 26 May 1849.
142. C.M.S. CI1/0185/126 Annual Report 1843; CI1/0185/127 Annual Report 1844; CI1/0185/131 Annual Report 1852; CI1/0185/135 Annual Report 1857; CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849.
143. C.M.S. CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849; CI1/0185/9 Long to Parent Committee, 29 April 1845.
144. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/2 Bengal District Conference Report, 2-4 July 1845.

felt that this would "impress truth more deeply on their minds."[145]

In 1849, when the opportunity arose, Long resigned his position as superintendent of the English school in Calcutta so that he could devote more time and attention to this mission at Thakurpukur.[146] As previously mentioned, he was already changing his ideas about the value and importance of English education, as well as his attitude towards training teachers and preachers through English. He had spent considerable time in studying Bengali and Sanskrit[147] and was anxious to carry out experiments in vernacular education and in the training of Bengali assistants through the vernacular, rather than through English, and in a way that would make them particularly qualified for work in village areas.

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145. C.M.S. CI1/0185/126 Annual Report 1843; CI1/0185/127 Annual Report 1844; CI1/0185/128 Annual Report 1846; CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849.
146. C.M.S. CI1/M12 Long to Cuthbert, 22 October 1849; CI1/M12 Long and Sandys to Cuthbert [October or November 1849]; Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Minute, 20 November 1849; C.M.R., vol.VII, November 1862, p.343.
147. C.M.S. CI1/M12 Long and Sandys to Cuthbert [October or November 1849].

CHAPTER II
Vernacular Education, 1850-1861

During the period 1850 to 1861 Protestant missionaries in Bengal did not necessarily see a conflict between missionary English and missionary vernacular education and, at their Conference held in Calcutta in 1855, for example, a majority of missionaries voted for resolutions in favour of continuing both systems of education. Both were felt to be useful as methods of evangelism — English schools being "especially fitted to bring the Gospel home to the active and intelligent classes of the large cities and towns" and vernacular schools suited for similar work in rural areas.[1]

Both systems were valued as methods of preparing for Christianity as well as presenting it and it was felt that they helped to bring about social and other changes which would eventually facilitate the propagation and spread of Christianity. Duff's claim that missionary English education undermined confidence in Hinduism, weakened the caste system and prevented the spread of infidelity was

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1. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November - December 1855, pp.492-504, 551-558; J.Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour, p.124; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. in North India, 1863, pp.8-26.

generally accepted and it was argued that missionary vernacular schools were particularly useful, not only as "a means of dispelling prejudice and removing the objections of the Hindus", but also by facilitating "the comprehension and appreciation of the gospel".[2] Finally, there seems to have been a feeling among some of the missionaries that missionary English schools in particular imparted a "moral" training and that this was one of their necessary and legitimate functions.[3]

Judging from resolutions such as those passed by the Bengal missionaries at their Calcutta conference of 1855 and also from the reports of discussion on vernacular education, it would appear that the missionaries were just as enthusiastic about vernacular education as they were about education through English. Moreover, when the C.M.S. missionaries were faced with financial difficulties and felt compelled to make a choice, they preferred to retain their vernacular schools intact, but chose some of their English institutions.[4]

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2. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November - December 1855, pp.492-504, 551-558; J.Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour, p.124; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. in North India, 1863, pp.8-26.
3. C.C.O., vol. XXIV, November 1855, pp.497, 502.
4. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/18 Bengal District Conference Report, 10-11 September 1855.

But in spite of this apparent enthusiasm for vernacular education during this period, the number of pupils being educated in missionary vernacular schools was probably declining and there appears to have been some slight rise in the number attending English institutions. Long, for example, complained in 1855 that "vernacular education has declined and missionaries have generally swam [sic] with the stream".[5] At a conference of L.M.S. missionaries held in November 1863, the Rev. J.Payne complained of the same development. "I feel that English schools have absorbed vernacular schools", he said. "The time has come for us to give more attention to the vernacular".[6] These observations appear to be confirmed by statistics of Protestant missionary education collected by the Rev. Mullens in 1850 and 1861.[7] He made no distinction between female pupils attending English (or Anglo-vernacular) and those at vernacular schools, but in neither year did they represent more than 12% of the total mission school population. The great majority of mission school pupils were boys, and 94½% in both 1850 and 1861 attended

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5. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, December 1855, pp.543-544.
6. Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S., p.24.
7. Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions in India, Ceylon and Burma for 1871.

either vernacular day schools or English schools.[8] The number of boys attending vernacular day schools dropped 25% — from 6,319 in 1850 to 4,740 in 1861. During the same period, the number of boys attending English schools rose 5%, from 6,050 in 1850 to 6,369 in 1861. Thus it appears that, while missionaries were passing resolutions at missionary conferences expressing enthusiasm for vernacular education, in actual practice their vernacular school system was declining.

The reasons for this decline are by no means easy to ascertain, but there are a number of points which might be considered. Firstly, the records of missionary conferences and debates may give an impression that missionaries favoured vernacular education to a greater extent than they actually did, and hence the decline in the vernacular school population may reflect a waning of interest and a continuation of the reaction against mission vernacular schools which resulted from Duff's activities and influence. Secondly, there can be no doubt that serious practical difficulties were involved in maintaining or developing vernacular schools during this period. These schools were

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8. The remaining 5½% attended boarding schools where instruction was usually in the vernacular. /J.Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India, p.121./ The number of boys in these schools dropped 7%, from 708 in 1850 to 656 in 1861.

still occasionally affected by the suspicion and hostility of village people and also suffered from the competition of rival institutions.[9] English schools, in particular, attracted potential pupils and encouraged those already in vernacular schools to leave at an early age.[10] Staffing problems were often acute — well trained Christian teachers were not easy to obtain[11] — and missionaries were greatly handicapped by lack of funds.[12] Quite probably all of these problems were encountered in the 1840's,[13] but some — particularly the question of finance — may have been more severe in the 1850's[14] and the overall situation more difficult in

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9. C.M.R., vol.IV, new series, 1859, p.62; C.M.S. CI1/O115/14 B.Geidt, Annual Report 1854; Calcutta B.M.S. Annual Report, 1855, p.35.
10. C.M.S. CI1/O115/18 B.Geidt, Annual Report 1860; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S., pp.24-25; B.M.S. Annual Report, 31 March 1856, p.28.
11. C.M.R., vol.XXVI, December 1855, p.276; vol.XXVII, September 1856, p.221; vol.IV, new series, 1859, p.382; C.M.S. CI1/O133/20 S.Hasell, Report, October 1853 - March 1854 and CI1/O133/22 Report, September 1859.
12. Calcutta B.M.S. Annual Reports, 1852, pp.17, 18, 29; 1854, pp.30-31; 1855, p.37, p.40; B.M.S.Annual Report, March 1860, p.38; C.C.O., vol. XXIV, December 1855, p.551.
13. J.Long Handbook of Bengal Missions,pp. 90-91; Calcutta B.M.S. Annual Reports, 1839, pp.46, 49; 1841, p.32; 1849, p.26.
14. It is clear, for example, that Baptist missionaries had to cope with financial difficulties in vernacular education in the 1840's, and yet their annual reports give the impression that these financial problems were much more serious in the 1850's /Calcutta B.M.S.Annual Reports, 1839-1845, 1849-1855; B.M.S.Annual Reports, March 1856-March 1860/.

this latter period.

Finally, another factor in the situation in the 1850's, and one which may be of the greatest significance, was the new Government grant-in-aid system. Government regulations, published early in 1855, stated that grants-in-aid would be given only to those schools where a fee was required from scholars.[15] Bengalis were far more willing to pay for an English rather than a vernacular education,[16] and hence it was easier for missionaries engaged in English education to charge fees and obtain the Government grant. Knowing this, and being aware that in practice the Government was giving more financial aid to missionary English schools than to vernacular,[17] many missionaries, previously enthusiastic about vernacular education, must have been tempted to concentrate their attention on the English school system.

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15. General Reports of Public Instruction (Lower Provinces), January-April 1855, p.XI.
16. ibid., 1856-1857, p.15; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S., November 1863, pp.24-25.
17. G.R.P.I., 1855-56, Appendix D, pp.8-13; 1856-57, Appendix D, pp.23-28; 1857-58, Appendix E, pp.29-33; 1860-61, Appendix D, pp.25-26.

In principle, they may still have endorsed the idea that vernacular education was extremely important, but in practice found it difficult not to compromise principle for the sake of much valued Government assistance.

Long, like most other missionaries, did not deny that "the English language as a medium for natives of leisure and ability acquiring a large stock of European ideas", was "an instrument of great value".[18] Nor did he deny that a first rate English institution could give a satisfactory education to a certain class of students in Indian cities.[19] However, his own experience in the 1840's had made him more critical than most of his colleagues of English education as a whole, and had convinced him that the vernacular and not English was the most suitable medium for the instruction of village

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18. Calcutta Review, No. LXIV, June 1859, p.283.
19. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, p.501; C.M.S. CI1/0185/46 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1858; CI1/0185/152 Minute on English Schools, 20 March 1856.

people.[20]

In the first place, he believed that if village people were taught through English they had to spend too much time acquiring a rather superficial knowledge of a foreign language and not enough time in absorbing and trying to understand important facts and ideas. Their minds were not really improved.[21] Writing in 1854, he explained that he began his vernacular schools at Thakurpukur in 1849 "on the principle that a mere smattering of English is of little use, and that we want a class of boys well instructed through their own tongue".[22] Secondly, Long's observation of Christian converts and catechists in Calcutta and his experience of students at Mirzapur convinced him that English education produced the wrong type of person for the peasant

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20. He not only attacked the "filtration theory" propounded by Dr.Duff and Government officials, but also criticized the idea that those educated through English would help to enrich and develop vernacular literature (Infra p.195). And while he was willing to admit that English education was suitable for a certain class of students in Indian cities, as a result of further teaching experience in Calcutta in the 1850's, he gradually became convinced that even there "if you want to get at the heart address through the Mother tongue" /C.M.S. CI1/0185/136 Annual Report 1858/.
21. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, p.501; What May be Done, p.4; Calcutta Review, No. LXIV, June 1859, pp.286-287.
22. What May be Done, p.7.

community. Those educated through English were too often discontented, ambitious, Anglicised students, anxious to acquire European habits and luxuries and divorced in feeling from the simpler village people.[23] Students educated through the vernacular would, he thought, be more likely to remain contented with rural life and retain their sympathy for and understanding of village people.[24]

Government officials, in particular, often justified their policy of concentrating attention on higher education through English by the argument that the English educated would eventually pass their knowledge downwards to the mass of the population and Dr.Duff continued to argue in a similar fashion.[25] But Long's experience in the villages in the 1850's also convinced him that this so called "filtration theory" was not working in practice. The English educated, he believed, would do nothing for the

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23. Chapter I, p.62.
24. See, for example, Long's article on female education in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, December 1849, pp.561-563.
25. "No good could be got from diffusing mere elementary instruction", said Duff when giving evidence before the Lords Committee of 1852-53, "the great thing was to teach a few well and then use them to raise the condition of the many." Quoted in F.W.Thomas The History and Prospects of British Education in India, Cambridge 1891, p.60.

masses. Knowledge and "enlightenment" were not "filtering" downwards to the level of the common people. "While I cheerfully admit," said Long in 1856, "that something has been done for the education of the upper classes of natives, and that tens of thousands of pounds have been properly spent on that object — yet the result of twenty years of that exclusive system has shown that the highly educated evince little wish to diffuse knowledge among the ryots... the educated babus of Calcutta spout and talk enough, but they do nothing for the improvement of the masses — the highest branches of literature and science have been taught to a few for their own profit."[26] "Experience is showing that a great number of our Missionary English Schools", he wrote on another occasion, "though enlightening a few yet those few shew [sic] little or no disposition to do much for their countrymen at large."[27] "Lord Ellenborough in his recent minute", wrote Long three years later, "advocates educating only the upper classes, stating that knowledge will go down. We say this has been tried in Bengal for 25

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26. C.M.S. CI1/0185/154 Peasant Degradation an Obstacle to Gospel Propagation — An Address delivered by the Rev. J.Long at the Church Missionary Meeting, Calcutta, 8 April 1856.
27. C.M.S. CI1/0185/140 Long's Annual Letter, 20 November 1856.

years, and it has not done so, nor does it show a tendency to do so, except in some special cases."[28]

In Long's opinion knowledge failed to filtrate downwards to the mass of the population mainly because the English educated Bengalis were too selfish and too conscious of their caste superiority to take an interest in village people. "We are finding in Calcutta", he wrote in 1857, "that very little is to be expected from the highly educated babús, they are intensely selfish. I find wherever I go in the villages, they are indifferent if not hostile to the welfare of the common people whom they despise ..."[29] Caste feeling in particular, he believed, operated against all plans for "elevating the lower orders." He remarked that in many cases even "Christian natives" "would rather spout a little English than benefit the Sudra caste. It is long before a brahman, though he be a Christian, can erase from his mind the feelings connected with his belonging to the twice born class."[30] Zamindars were also to blame for their failure to educate the masses. "The Zemindars", he said, "are opposed to popular education, as, were the

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28. Calcutta Review, No. LXIV, June 1859, pp.290-291.
29. C.M.S. CI1/0185/40 Long to Parent Committee, 22 October 1857.
30. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, December 1855, p.548.

masses enlightened, they could not exercise such tyranny over their ryots."[31]

In the 1850's, Long was undoubtedly one of the most outspoken missionary critics in Bengal of the filtration theory.[32] But he did not indulge in all this criticism simply for its own sake. He was anxious to refute what he believed was a mistaken idea which paralysed effective action and he hoped that, by convincing missionaries and others that knowledge was not filtering down to the common people, he would also convince them that they themselves should go into the villages and participate directly in schemes for vernacular education. When speaking at the General Missionary Conference of 1855, for example, he stressed that "far greater efforts should be made, than have hitherto been made by missionaries, to promote such education. To whom are we to look for a real diffusion of knowledge among the masses?" he asked.

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31. C.M.S. CI1/0185/154 Peasant Degradation.
32. Judging from the proceedings of missionary conferences, for example, very few, if any of the other Protestant missionaries publicly criticized the theory. /C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November - December 1855, pp.492-504, 551-558; Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal, held at Calcutta, 22 August — 12 September 1855, Calcutta 1855; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S., 1863; C.M.S. CI1/04/4/12 Bengal District Conference Reports, 8 - 10 July 1851 and CI1/04/4/18 10 September 1855/.

"The Government will do but little. The zemindars and the rich natives will do nothing. Those who have received an English education, themselves, have done much less than might reasonably have been expected of them. It is to the missionaries then that we can look for the education of the people through the vernacular languages."[33]

Like some of the other missionaries he believed that vernacular education was particularly valuable as a method of preparing the people for missionary preaching and for a proper appreciation of Christianity. In the first place, he repeatedly pointed out that vernacular education was necessary if the masses were ever to read and understand the Bible. "I ask, as a matter of plain common sense," he wrote, "how can we expect Christianity to pervade the masses in this country, when they are utterly unable to read God's word, and when but few Missionaries have that competent knowledge of the language which would enable oral instruction to supply the want of a knowledge of the written word?"[34] In his own experience, he found that, because village people were unable to read, it was quite useless giving them

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33. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, p.501.
34. C.M.R., vol.IV, new series, May 1859, p.128.

Bibles and religious literature. It was like giving spectacles to blind men.[35] "I have lots of Scriptures lying by me in the house undistributed", he wrote in November 1856, "because I find in the villages I go to and those near to Calcutta so few of the people can read with intelligence — not 5 per cent of the population can read even their own books."[36]

In Long's view, the lack of elementary education among village people not only made Bible and tract distribution quite often useless,[37] but also hindered their understanding and appreciation of preaching. In his own preaching, he found that ignorance of the Scriptures was a barrier to "preaching to the heart", when "instead of direct appeals to the conscience", he was forced to make himself "a dictionary" and explain the meaning of words and terms.[38] And even if his preaching was understood, he found that it still made little permanent impression unless the people could follow it up

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35. C.M.S. CI1/0185/154 Peasant Degradation.
36. C.M.S. CI1/0185/140 Long's Annual Letter, 20 November 1856.
37. Whether he meant it or not, this was a criticism of the early Serampore missionaries who relied so heavily on Bible and tract distribution.
38. C.M.S. CI1/0185/52 Long to Parent Committee, 21 August 1858.

by reading the Bible for themselves.[39] "Unless the people are enabled to read God's word," wrote Long, "how little permanent effect can preaching have."[40]

During and after the Mutiny he came to feel that it was more necessary than ever for the masses to be able to read the Bible and see for themselves what Christianity really was. In letters to the C.M.S. Parent Committee, he referred repeatedly to the violent desire among Europeans for "indiscriminate revenge", to the "insulting tone" many of them adopted towards Indians, to "atrocities" practised by Christian troops[41] — and because of these and similar events, Long explained, it was essential "that the masses should be able to search the Scriptures for themselves and thereby to learn that Christianity is in the book very different from what the lives of too many of its professors in India would indicate it to be."[42] "Remember", he warned in another letter, "the lives of many Europeans in India are so disgraceful to Christianity

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39. C.M.S. CI1/0185/140 Annual Letter, 20 November 1856.
40. C.M.S. CI1/0185/36 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August 1856.
41. C.M.S. CI1/0185/40 Long to Parent Committee, 22 October 1857; CI1/0185/41 to Parent Committee, 7 November 1857; CI1/0185/45 to Parent Committee, 8 February 1858; CI1/0185/47 to Parent Committee, 9 April 1858; CI1/0185/50 to Parent Committee, 17 June 1858.
42. C.M.S. CI1/0185/47 Long to Parent Committee, 9 April 1858.

that unless the people have access to the book they can form no estimate of what Christianity is."[43]

Long was convinced, then, that vernacular education was mainly necessary so that the masses could read the Bible and understand and appreciate religious truth. He also felt that some sort of elementary education was necessary for social and political reasons, though these considerations do not seem to have weighed heavily on his mind or affected his attitude to education to the same extent as the more purely religious considerations.

Like Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces, and some other Government administrators, Long believed that education would help to protect simple village people from exploitation and social injustice. In 1856, for example, he referred to the sufferings of the Santals and argued that "popular enlightenment" would have protected them from deceitful and crafty leaders, and, in an article written in the Calcutta Review two years later, he claimed that education was the only really effective method of protecting the ryots from cruel and oppressive zamindars.[44]

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43. C.M.S. CI1/0185/45 Long to Parent Committee, 8 February 1858.
44. C.M.S. CI1/0185/154 Peasant Degradation; Calcutta Review, No. LXIV, June 1859, pp.292-293.

Political considerations appear to have entered into Long's thinking on education only in the late 1850's. As a result of the Mutiny, he became convinced that keeping the masses in ignorance was politically dangerous.[45] He believed that the ignorance and prejudice of the Muslims in particular had contributed to the outbreak of 1857,[46] and he feared that if the masses remained "sunk in ignorance" then another rebellion, repeating all the horrors and bloodshed of the first, was almost certain to follow. He was particularly apprehensive during the indigo disturbances and, after speaking on the need for vernacular education at a clerical meeting in the Bishop's residence in March 1861, he left the meeting, he wrote, "almost in despair — praying that the English in India may not yet suffer the penalty of this apathy, as the Burbons of France did who would do nothing for the masses — but the unenlightened masses made them pay for this with torrents of blood. I look with some apprehension to the future of this country," he added, "the ryot population is increasing in social influence and feeling their weight in the

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45. Calcutta Review, No. LXIV, June 1859, p.297.
46. C.M.S.. CI1/0185/37 Long to Parent Committee, 18 June 1857.

community — but they are sunk in ignorance."[47]

In May 1849, Long, who was commenting on the need for a good vernacular education for the Christian children at Thakurpukur and in neighbouring villages, pointed out that a few of them were receiving "a merely elementary instruction from a teacher who is poorly qualified himself & who needs constant supervision & training."[48] In his plans for the district, he proposed to pay particular attention to the education of these children — believing, amongst other things, that their behaviour and Christian example could have an important influence on the non-Christian villagers.[49] "While you are anxiously looking out for the spread of Christianity among the Heathen," he wrote in a letter to the Parent Committee, "let us take care that the converts we have already are properly attended to."[50]

He proposed to maintain and improve the existing vernacular day school at Thakurpukur mainly for the

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47. C.M.S. CI1/0185/71 Long to Parent Committee, 23 March 1861; see also CI1/0185/62 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August [1859].
48. C.M.S. CI1/M11 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 26 May 1849.
49. C.M.S. CI1/0185/131 Annual Report 1852.
50. C.M.S. CI1/0185/32 Long to Parent Committee, July 1854.

benefit of non-Christian children, but also to establish a boys' and girls' boarding school for the forty or fifty Christian children scattered in villages throughout the area.[51]

Long began putting these plans into practice in 1850.[52] At first he was faced with considerable difficulties. He wrote that there were no good teachers who had received any training themselves, that the ground all about the original school house was a swamp, with three feet of water on it in the rains, that few books were available and that there was scarcely any European in Calcutta to consult who had any real experience in the working of vernacular schools.[53]

By the end of 1851, however, he was able to report that as far as the external machinery of the Mission was concerned, the Mission was established.[54] A new house to be used as a place of residence by the missionary and his wife and containing a chapel, two school rooms and accommodation for Christian children was completed and the Mission presented a more settled appearance.[55] Some

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51. C.M.S. CI1/0185/129 Report of the Thakurpukur Mission, 1849.
52. C.M.R., vol.XXII, December 1851, p.268; What May be Done, p.5.
53. What May be Done, p.4.
54. C.M.S. CI1/0185/130 Annual Report 1851.
55. C.M.R., vol.XXII, December 1851, p.268.

years later when a separate church had also been built, the station was visited by Mrs. J.Weitbrecht, widow of a well known C.M.S. missionary. After her visit, she wrote a description of the mission station and the villages nearby. "The villages", she said, "consist of small houses grouped together, and planted on little knolls raised a few feet above the level of the surrounding country, which is very swampy, and exhibits in the rainy season the appearance of a fresh-water lake. Now and then", she continued, "one sees a picturesque-looking house, with its thatched roof, planted alone on a little mound; and what adds interest to the scene, is the neat native chapel, occupying a central locality, where the missionary and his wife locate themselves in a small bungalow close by."[56]

Non-Christian children in the vernacular day school at Thakurpukur as well as the Christian pupils in the boarding schools were given religious instruction. They studied a wide range of subjects, and, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, the syllabus for boys included Geography, History, etymology, botany and lessons

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56. Mrs.Weitbrecht Missionary Sketches in North India with reference to recent events, London 1858, p.71.

based on natural objects.[57] The range of subjects was wider than that in most other missionary schools[58] and very much wider than in purely indigenous schools where, in the opinion of Henry Woodrow, one of the well-informed Government inspectors, studies still tended "to narrow the mind".[59] Long's determination to open up new horizons and broaden the mind was coupled with a desire to stimulate and develop the intellect. As already mentioned, one of his objections to English education was that it tended to deteriorate into an almost mechanical process of learning — a process which involved very little active or critical thinking. Hence, he included some subjects in the syllabus at Thakurpukur which he believed would be particularly effective in encouraging greater intellectual activity. Mental arithmetic was taught, as this, Long considered, "exercises the mind and makes boys think", etymology (the tracing of Bengali words to their Sanskrit roots) in Long's opinion, exercised the judgment and object

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57. C.M.S. CI1/0185/130 Annual Report 1851; CI1/0185/131 Annual Report 1852; What May be Done, pp.2, 5-9; Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, pp.74-76.
58. J.Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour, p.128; Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal, 1855, p.47.
59. G.R.P.I., 1859-60, Appendix A, p.17.

lessons on natural history were also valuable "for training the minds of boys".[60]

In his programme for Christian children, one of Long's main objects was to help them develop vocational skills and fit contentedly into the pattern of rural life.[61] "The great difficulty with a large number", he wrote, "is in so training them individually, according to their capacities, that they shall in after life earn their bread and live so as to be a credit to their Christian profession."[62] His experience of English educated converts in Calcutta had convinced him that nothing could do so much mischief to the cause of Christianity as a dissatisfied wandering Christian lad "who cannot dig, while to beg he is not ashamed." The Christian boys and girls at Thakurpukur were taught gardening. The girls also learned cooking and needlework, while the boys practised nail and rope making and learned rowing (as much of their district was underwater).[63] This stress on vocational training — on outdoor activities

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60. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, p.75; What May be Done, p.8.
61. C.M.R., vol.XXI, July 1850, p.149; C.M.S. CI1/0185/131 Annual Report 1852; What May be Done, p.8.
62. What May be Done, p.9.
63. C.M.S. CI1/0185/130 Annual Report 1851; CI1/0185/131 Annual Report 1852; What May be Done, pp.5-6.

likely to prove useful in a peasant community — was one of the more unusual aspects of Long's plan for educating Christian children. The Rev. B. Geidt, another C.M.S. missionary, developed a similar scheme at Burdwan some years later, but even so, the training of vernacular school children in useful outdoor activities does not seem to have been generally practised either by missionaries or in the Government vernacular schools.[64]

Long's overall plan of education, especially for Christian children, thus combined these utilitarian practical features (perhaps somewhat in keeping with the Indian village school tradition) with the broad range of more academic subjects already mentioned, more in keeping with the English idea of "liberal" education.

As at Mirzapur, Long believed that teacher training must form an essential part of his work in education. The C.M.S. in Bengal did not have adequate teacher training facilities, and C.M.S. missionaries, in particular, were greatly handicapped by shortages of well trained vernacular teachers. In their reports they frequently referred to staffing problems, and it is

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64. C.M.S. CI1/0115/16, Rev. B.Geidt, Annual Report 1857; J.Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour, p.128; H.A.Stark Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813 - 1912, Calcutta 1916, pp.66-68.

most unlikely that Long's schools at Thakurpukur would have been so successful if he had not developed his own scheme of teacher training. He made use of monitors, or student teachers, as he did in his school at Mirzapur, and he held special lessons for teachers, as well as for senior boys, regularly once a week.[65] They discussed the subject matter of their future lessons, but were also required to do practical teaching in front of the missionary. As an incentive for improvement, Long adopted the scheme of paying his teachers according to the proficiency of their pupils.[66] His staying at Thakurpukur for three days in the week enabled him, he felt, to exercise an adequate supervision over his staff and at the same time encouraged them to develop a sense of initiative and independence.[67]

During the 1850's and after, Long's vernacular schools at Thakurpukur were visited by a large number of Government officials, missionaries and clergy. Some of these visitors may have been attracted to Thakurpukur because it was a rural mission station conveniently close to Calcutta and reasonably accessible during the dry

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65. C.M.S. CI1/0185/131 Annual Report 1852; What May be Done, pp. 6-7.
66. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, p.75; What May be Done, p.5.
67. C.M.R., vol.XXIV, October 1853, p.227; What May be Done, p.4.

season, but the majority probably came because of their genuine interest in Long's experiment. His schools had interesting and unusual features. They were proving extremely successful and clearly demonstrated that a sound and thorough education could be given through the vernacular.

For purposes of Government inspection, Long's schools were situated in the sub-division of Eastern Bengal which was under the supervision of a Government Inspector (Henry Woodrow)[68] assisted by a number of Deputy Inspectors. In 1858-59 they inspected 252 Government and aided vernacular schools in their division. These

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68. Woodrow, who became one of Long's personal friends, was appointed Inspector of Schools in Eastern Bengal in 1855 and held the position until 1872. He paid particular attention to vernacular education and one of his greatest achievements was the introduction and development of the "circle school system" in Government education (infra p.132) T.V.French, an old school friend, and subsequently Bishop of Lahore, described him, in 1851, as "full of zeal for Missions" and remarked that he seemed "eminently spiritually minded, and separates himself entirely from those of a different character." He vigorously supported Halliday's proposal in 1854, to give grants-in-aid to mission schools, and, in 1855, was one of the few laymen to take part in the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries. In the 1860's he became a member of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. /J.A.Richey (ed.) Selections from Educational Records, Part II, 1840-1859, Calcutta 1922, pp.480-482; C.M.S. CI1/M12 French to Venn, 7 January 1851; C.C.O., vol.XXIV, October 1855, p.434; Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, pp.62-63/.

schools were then classified into six carefully defined categories ranging from "excellent" down to "bad", according to the quality of secular instruction given in them. The inspectors' findings were described and tabulated in the Government's official education report.[69] Only two of the 252 schools were classified as "excellent", and one of these was Long's vernacular day school at Thakurpukur.[70] According to Woodrow, vernacular schools such as these were considered "excellent" when "all the classes are well taught, rise by regular gradation to the highest and where the pupils of the highest class can read fluently, spell accurately, explain all the Sanskrit compounds and contractions found in the higher class of Bengali reading books, know the Bengali Grammar thoroughly, write correctly at dictation, evince some degree of fluency in Bengali composition, work swiftly and well sums in proportion, fractions, decimals, interest, extraction of square and cube roots, and shew how to measure a field of many sides and calculate its area. They are required also to know the Geography of the four

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69. G.R.P.I., 1858-1859, Appendix A, pp.13-22.
70. 19 schools were described as "good", 40 as "fair" and the remaining 191 schools (76%) were included in the lower categories. 81 of these were "moderate", 94 "indifferent" and 16 "bad". /G.R.P.I., 1858-1859, Appendix A, pp. 13-14./

quarters of the Globe and of India, to be able to draw a neat map, and to describe the principal events in the History of Bengal."[71]

Other Government officials including the Lieutenant-Governor, F.J.Halliday, also visited Long's schools. "Our new Lieutenant-Governor visited my schools...lately", wrote Long in July 1854, "went through all the classes and expressed himself much interested."[72] Even before this visit, Halliday had drawn the attention of the Council of Education to Long's activities, and particularly commended his method of improving indigenous vernacular schools, rather than of trying to supersede them with completely new and more expensive schools of his own.[73] In August 1859, another Government official, Captain Lees, the Officiating Director of Public Instruction, accompanied Long on a visit to Thakurpukur. According to Long, he "expressed himself much pleased with the style and extent of Vernacular Education there and will adopt some of the plans in Government Schools".[74]

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71. G.R.P.I., 1858-1859, p.13.
72. C.M.S. CI1/0185/32 Long to Parent Committee, July 1854.
73. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, pp.67-69.
The Government Hardinge schools, which were completely unconnected with the traditional village schools, had never proved popular, and Halliday may have believed that if the Council adopted Long's more cautious approach of building on the older system, then improved or Government schools would be less suspect and more popular with village people.
74. C.M.S. CI1/0185/61 Long to Parent Committee, 8 August 1859.

One of the first missionaries to visit Thakurpukur was the Rev. G.G.Cuthbert who was deeply interested in Long's educational activities and wrote a glowing report on his schools in an introduction to one of Long's pamphlets published in 1854.[75] Having seen conditions at Thakurpukur in 1849,[76] he was particularly impressed with the progress already made. He pointed out that, four years before, there had been no Christian school at Thakurpukur, that the teachers of the "Heathen" school there were of the most ordinary class, knew nothing about teaching and drove "by rote and cane, the contents of certain commonplace lesson books, into the memories of some thirty or forty boys". In contrast to this, he explained, "we now find this same school for Heathen boys much enlarged and improved, with mostly the same teachers, brightened up, lively, intelligent, and, to all appearance, really interested in their work, teaching a much enlarged course of lessons with considerable vigour and energy." He then described the boarding schools — referred to the "well ordered and highly intelligent looking children", to their high attainments in a wide range of practical and academic subjects and to the quality of their Scriptural

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75. What May be Done - A Tract for Persons Engaged in Education.
76. C.M.S. CI1/0185/116 Long's Journal, 6 June 1849.

instruction. The pupils, he wrote, "can answer as well at least in most parts of the Bible, as the pupils of many schools where scarcely anything else is taught."[77]

The Rev. T.V.French, a close friend of Long's and later Bishop of Lahore, visited Thakurpukur in January 1851, soon after the boarding schools had been established. In a letter, probably written to one of his family in England,[78] he gave an extremely vivid account of his visit and conveyed something of his admiration for Long's work and achievement. He was staying in Calcutta with Woodrow whom he knew at Rugby and, in the latter's company, journeyed out to Thakurpukur, firstly in Woodrow's buggy and then by boat. After breakfast in the village they visited the boarding schools. "The children", wrote French, "about sixty in number, were waiting till Mr. Long came to hear them say grace; a few minutes were amply sufficient for their meal of rice and small fish caught in the tanks around. The little girls would not, with few exceptions, begin to eat while we looked on; they have scarcely been accustomed yet to be looked at while eating. After breakfast a gong announced prayers. These were held in a room about as

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77. What May be Done, pp. 1-2.
78. Quoted in H.Birks The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, First Bishop of Lahore, London 1895, vol.I, pp.25-26.

large as Horninglow or Winshill schoolrooms; seated round the floor in the centre were the children, and at the sides and further end about thirty adults. Was not this really a delightful sight? Round the walls were the same kind of pictures of animals which surround the walls of our own dear Burton schools.[79] I examined them through Mr. Long on the parable of the Ten Virgins. To all my questions they seemed to answer correctly. The boys are fond of writing on a peculiar kind of reed, which is white on one side, or nearly so; they have also a reed pen with which they write Bengali rapidly. I have sent you one word which was written by one of them while we were in the school; it is the word "Jesus" in Bengali."[80]

Among some of the later visitors to Thakurpukur during this period were Bishop Smith of Victoria, Hong Kong,[81] Joshua Russell of the B.M.S.[82] and Mrs. Weitbrecht,

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79. French spent his childhood at Burton-on-Trent, Birks, vol.I, p.1.
80. In a more business-like letter to Henry Venn also describing this visit to Thakurpukur French remarked that "the Schools seemed very flourishing, the numbers being 60 and the answers very satisfactory; and the animated, beaming countenances of the children proving the interest they took in their work." /C.M.S. CI1/M12 French to Venn, 7 January 1851/.
81. Church Missionary Intelligencer, January 1854, p.21; C.M.S. CI1/0185/30 Long to Venn, 18 March 1853.
82. J.Russell Journal of a Tour in Ceylon and India, London 1852, p.160.

whose husband had at one time superintended several missionary vernacular schools at Burdwan.[83] Mrs. Weitbrecht recorded her impressions of Thakurpukur at some length. Like French, she noticed the interest the children took in their work and also commented on their practical outdoor activities — "employments", she wrote, "likely to prove of the greatest practical use to them in after life".[84]

One of Long's objects in developing the schools at Thakurpukur — especially the day school — was "to build on the Native system, not to supersede it".[85] Most of the original teachers were retained — they were not driven into opposition — but were enlisted on the side of the school authorities.[86] Teaching was entirely through the vernacular and the monitorial system — a traditional Indian method of organizing teaching — was used. But Long was not attempting to develop typically Indian methods of instruction to the same extent as he was in the 1860's. Moreover, the knowledge and ideas communicated to the pupils were probably not specifically

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83. J.Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.102.
84. Missionary Sketches in North India, p.76.
85. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, p.75 (Long to Halliday, February 1854).
86. ibid.; What May be Done, p.1.

Indian at any stage. Unlike Vidyasagar, Long was not attempting to fuse Oriental and Western philosophical and scientific ideas. He was primarily interested in presenting Christianity and Western learning in Oriental garb, in a way that would make them both meaningful and acceptable to village people.[87] He probably believed that foreign ideas presented through the vernacular, by well trained Indian teachers, in schools already being attended by local children, were more likely to be understood and accepted than foreign ideas presented in an unusual way and in an unfamiliar setting. And, as well as this, if his schools became too Westernized, if his pupils studied even a little English, and came in contact with Calcutta "babus" and the wrong type of European, then, he felt, his pupils would become ambitious and discontented and would no longer fit happily into the pattern of rural life.

In Long's opinion, the problems of education in Bengal were so great and the field so vast, they could be tackled effectively only by co-operation between

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87. See, for example, Long's article on "Christian Orientalism" in Calcutta Review, No. LXIV, June 1859, especially pp. 281-283.

Government and missionaries.[88] He himself was always ready to assist Government officials in educational matters, and he believed that the Government, for its part, could greatly assist mission schools, and stimulate and improve vernacular education in general, by a system of grants-in-aid.

J.F.Halliday, while still a member of the old Council of Education[89] and before he became Lieutenant-Governor, proposed this type of scheme to the Council early in 1854. Wishing to raise the question, he asked Long to send him an official application for a Government grant-in-aid, and he then presented Long's letter of application, together with other documents, including a Minute of his own, for the Council's consideration.[90] In his Minute, Halliday outlined plans for extending vernacular education, drew attention to Long's educational activities and supported his application for a Government grant. "Now I believe", he said, "that Mr. Long has in this case set an example which will be followed by many Missionaries. Their schools are numerous and may be made still more so...

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88. C.M.S. CI1/0185/42 Long to Parent Committee, 22 November 1857; CI1/0185/46 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 22 February 1858; CI1/0185/49 Long to Parent Committee, 4 June 1858; CI1/0185/54 Long to Parent Committee, 10 November 1858.
89. This Council, formed in 1842, replaced the General Committee of Public Instruction for the Bengal Presidency which was appointed in 1823.
90. C.M.S. CI1/0185/48 Long to Parent Committee, 22 April 1858; Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, pp.66-76

I would recommend that Mr. Long's request be granted by the Government, and that the same be done, within reasonable limits, as to other similar requests, that may be made. Nor would I confine this part of the plan to Missionary Vernacular Schools", he added, "I would aid similarly other approved Vernacular Schools that might come forward for the purpose".[91]

The Council of Education, however, was not happy with these proposals and Long's application for a grant-in-aid was rejected — according to Long himself, "on the ground of my being a Missionary!"[92] Five members of the Council, led by J.P.Grant (who eventually succeeded Halliday as Lieutenant-Governor) attacked the idea of giving grants to mission schools, and only two members of the Council, Woodrow and Allen, sided with Halliday in support of Long's application. Some of the opposing members clearly felt that, in initiating a system of grants-in-aid, which it appeared would benefit mission schools more than others, the Government would be giving Christianity an unfair advantage over other religions, and it was felt that the Government ought not to identify

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91. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, pp.66-71.
92. C.M.S. CI1/0185/48 Long to Parent Committee, 22 April 1858.

itself with one religion in preference to another.[93] Sir J.W.Colvile raised the traditional objection that "the formal connection of Government with such Schools is...not unlikely to cause an outcry and should therefore be avoided", and J.P.Grant, in outlining his objections, stated that the giving of grants-in-aid would reduce voluntary contributions.[94]

Soon after the rejection of Halliday's proposals, however, the Court of Directors sent out the famous Education Despatch of July 1854, the Council was dissolved and Halliday appointed Lieutenant-Governor. The Despatch initiated a system of grants-in-aid for the whole of India, and thus one of Halliday's greatest aims in education was at last achieved.

The new system, largely influenced by the English model,[95] was to be based "on an entire abstinence from

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93. See, for example, comments by Grant, Ricketts, Ramgopal Ghose and Ramapersaud Roy. Selections, No. XXII, pp.47-56.
94. Selections, No.XXII, p.48, p.60. In replying to some of these objections, Woodrow pointed out that, if zamindars were as active and energetic in establishing schools as the missionaries, they would then receive the same amount of Government assistance and the missionaries would have no disproportionate influence. "The restriction of Grants in aid only to Schools where the Bible is excluded", he added, "is bigotry itself." Selections, No. XXII, p.63.
95. F.W.Thomas The History and Prospects of British Education in India, p.61.

interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted".[96] Aid was to be given, as far as possible, to all schools which imparted a good secular education, provided that they were under adequate and responsible local management and, "provided also that their managers consent that the schools shall be subject to Government inspection, and agree to any conditions which may be laid down for the regulation of such grants." As a general rule, grants would be given only to those schools which require some fee, however small, from their scholars. The amount and continuance of the assistance given was to depend upon the periodical reports of inspectors. Inspectors were to be selected with special reference to their possessing the confidence of the "native" communities. "In their periodical inspections", emphasized the Despatch, "no notice whatsoever should be taken by them of religious doctrines which may be taught in any school".

The detailed practical application of this system in each of the Presidencies was left to the local Governments concerned. Rules for the distribution of grants, elaborating the proposals put forward in the Wood Despatch, were published in Bengal in 1855, and

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96. J.A.Richey (ed.) Selections from Educational Records, Part II, pp.379-381.

were practically identical with the rules published in Bombay and Madras.[97] The upper limit of the grant was to be half the total cost of the schools in question; but, in the case of secondary schools, the Bengal Government lowered the limit to one fourth.[98]

This time the grant-in-aid proposals triggered off a missionary debate — one of the few controversies during this period which tended to divide the missionary societies along denominational lines. All the main Protestant missionary societies operating in Bengal eventually accepted grants-in-aid; but while Henry Venn and the C.M.S. welcomed the proposals put forward in the Despatch and co-operated with the plan from the very beginning, the "dissenting" societies in particular (the B.M.S. and the L.M.S.), were at first openly hostile, and their missionaries in Bengal were the last to accept Government aid.[99]

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97. G.R.P.I., January - April 1855, pp.IX to XI and F.W. Thomas, p.66.
98. F.W.Thomas, p.66.
99. For the official attitude of the Baptist and London Missionary Societies and for the attitude of B.M.S. and L.M.S.missionaries in Bengal, see, in particular, Friend of India, 22 February, 8 March and 15 March 1855; B.M.S. MSS., "Letters to the Rev. John Wenger 1849-78", Underhill to Wenger, 19 June 1854; Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal, 1855, pp.51-55, pp.102-4 and Circular of the Committee of the B.M.S., 16 January 1855, pp.123-4; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S., November 1863, pp.22-26; G.R.P.I., 1855-56, Appendix D, pp.8-13; 1856-57, Appendix D, pp.23-28; 1857-8, Appendix E, pp.29-33; 1860-61, Appendix D, pp.23-26.

Henry Venn's attitude and readiness to accept grants-in-aid was probably influenced by the fact that the C.M.S. had more to gain from Government assistance than any other missionary society. "We will only further remind you", wrote Venn in a circular to C.M.S. missionaries, "that the Church Missionary Society, having under its charge the largest number of Native Christians, is both placed on a vantage-ground, and is laid under a special obligation, in respect of this great movement."[100] And, although the C.M.S. Committee pointed out that "the amount of pecuniary aid to be expected is likely to be small",[101] nevertheless, the Government offer came at an opportune moment. In June 1854, the same month in which Venn sent his first circular to C.M.S. missionaries urging them to co-operate in the Government scheme, the C.M.S. reviewed its financial position. The Church Missionary Intelligencer reported that "the amount of contributions received during the six months of the current year which have elapsed is less, not only than the income received in the same portion of the last year, but than the average income of the last five years."[102] Most other

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100. C.M.S.Circulars and Other Papers, vol.2, 1855-1876, No. 312, 27 June 1854.
101. ibid., No. 319, 4 December 1855.
102. Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1854, p.243.

missionary societies were also undergoing financial difficulties at about this time,[103] but when the C.M.S. was already, for other reasons, inclined to accept Government aid, its financial difficulties may have influenced the final decision.

But the greater readiness of the C.M.S. to accept Government grants for schools in India was probably also influenced by its being a society of the Established Church, whose members looked more favourably on ties between Church and State than did the Baptists and Independents who came from a "dissenting" tradition. The C.M.S. clearly felt that it was the Government's proper place and duty to take part in and assist education, but the L.M.S. and B.M.S. supported what was called "the voluntary principle". They believed that it was the role of voluntary organizations rather than the State to provide education. "As in the case of others", stated the Friend of India, "they conclude that the education of a nation is not the business of Government, but of the Church."[104]

Baptists and Independents were much more forthright and hostile in their attitude towards the State than

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103. The Missionary Herald, May 1856, p.77; C.M.S. CI1/L4 Secs. of C.M.S. to Cuthbert, 19 December 1854.
104. Friend of India, 15 March 1855.

Anglicans. They were more anxious to keep religious and secular affairs strictly separate and were easily frightened by what sometimes appeared to be Government "interference" in religious affairs. The hostile, almost belligerent, attitude of some of their members to the State was made clearly apparent — perhaps in a rather extreme form — at an Anti-State-Church Conference convened in London in June 1844. The seven hundred delegates present, elected by all the Dissenting bodies in the United Kingdom, declared war against every form of alliance between the State and any religious communion.[105] The Conference disavowed "the scriptural authority of all state establishments of religion, and of all state endowments of religion, under any of its denominations". Papers were read, including one by Edward Miall[106] on "the practical evils resulting from the union of church and state", and the Conference adopted a resolution which declared that "great as are the political evils resulting from the union of church and state, they sink into insignificance, when compared with the injuries inflicted

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105. E.Halévy A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, vol.IV, London 1961, p.70.
106. Edward Miall (1809-1881), trained as an Independent Minister, was founder and editor of the Nonconformist, a weekly publication which denounced the state church /D.N.B./

by it upon the spiritual interests of mankind."[107] Officials and lay supporters of the Baptist and London Missionary Societies, influenced by these ideas, (as was probably the case) were not likely to favour any system of Government aid and control in missionary education.

Finally, probably as a consequence of their more sympathetic attitude towards the State, the C.M.S. Committee appears to have been less suspicious of the Government's intentions than, for example, the Baptists. Henry Venn, in his circular of 4 December 1855, stated that "it appears to the Committee to be the part of sound policy, as well as of Christian charity, to give them [the Government] credit for good intentions, make a fair trial of the scheme, and work it out."[108] However, Underhill, the Secretary of the B.M.S., stated to his missionaries, that the conduct of the Government in the past with respect to education "has not been such as to command the confidence of missionaries in the

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107. Baptist Examiner, June 1844, vol.I, pp. 174-180.
108. C.M.S. Circulars and Other Papers, vol.2, 1855-1876, No. 319.

neutrality now professed."

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109. Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal, 1855, p.54.
Nurullah and Naik in their History of Education in India (1951 ed., pp.179-182) clearly imply that, during the period 1815 to 1853, missionaries pressed their claims for grants-in-aid because they feared competition from Government schools. However, the authors produce no evidence in support of their claim and their argument almost certainly does not apply to the situation in Bengal. Generally speaking, the mission schools there were not in fact threatened by rival Government institutions. Both Halliday and Woodrow, who had an extensive knowledge of the Government and mission school systems, were convinced that, as far as vernacular schools were concerned, the mission schools were the best. "It is notorious", wrote Halliday, "that the Missionary Vernacular Schools have succeeded where others have failed". "Missionary Vernacular Schools", said Woodrow, "are now more efficient and consequently better attended than Government Vernacular Schools." /Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, pp.63, 69/. Nor were the missionary English schools in Bengal seriously threatened. Some, like those established by Dr. Duff, had a high reputation; most of the others of a lower standing were probably not endangered by competition from Government institutions as there was such a widespread demand among Bengalis for English education. There was generally scope for both the mission and Government English institutions to exist and prosper side by side. Secondly, the missionary officials in England most anxious to accept Government aid argued that this was necessary, not because they feared competition from Government schools, but on the contrary, because they had such confidence in their own schools and believed they were of such a high standing. C.M.S. officials confidently expected that their missionaries would have no difficulty in winning an important share of the Government grants. "With the exception of a few establishments of superior grade", wrote the Secretaries in a circular to missionaries, "it will be found that the best secular education is imparted in the Mission Schools, and hence it is probable that these schools will come in for a large share of the grants." /C.M.S. Circulars and Other Papers, vol.2, 1855 - 1876, No. 319, 4 December 1855./

The question of grants-in-aid not only divided the Protestant missionary societies working in Bengal into two main camps, but also provoked some internal friction and controversy within some societies. At first, the C.M.S. in particular, was affected by marked differences of opinion which divided the Corresponding Committee and missionaries in Bengal, on the one hand, from the Parent Committee on the other.[110] In spite of Henry Venn's circular to C.M.S. missionaries in India, sent out before the Wood Despatch was published, urging them to improve their schools, "so as to meet the probable requirements of the Government plan",[111] the Corresponding Committee and missionaries in Bengal remained for some time extremely critical of the Government proposals.

While not actually saying they would reject the Government's plan most of the missionaries and members of the Corresponding Committee felt that the draft rules for grants-in-aid (very similar to the rules finally adopted) would have to be greatly modified to be acceptable.[112] Even Long was a little disappointed, and argued that the

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110. In contrast to this, the Baptist missionaries in Bengal and their Parent Committee were in almost complete agreement on the question in 1855. /Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal, 1855, p.103/.
111. C.M.S. Circulars and Other Papers, vol.2, 1855.- 1876, No. 312, 27 June 1854.
112. C.M.S. CI1/M13 (pp.688-696).

conditions laid down — especially the rule that "no grant will in any case exceed in amount the sum expended on the School by private persons or bodies" — were "a little too stringent" when applied to vernacular schools. "We have 30 millions of people sunk in intellectual as well as moral death", he wrote, "we cannot expect them to arouse themselves from the stupor of ages without great aid, which must come from government who have drawn such revenue from the sweat of peasants."[113] Other C.M.S. missionaries and some members of the Corresponding Committee feared that Government inspectors would be prejudiced against mission schools. It was also argued that by offering grants-in-aid to schools of any religion, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, provided the standard of secular instruction was sufficiently high, the Government would encourage the idea that all religions were equally true. Furthermore, it was pointed out that, by concentrating its attention on secular instruction and ignoring the religious aspects of education, the Government was declaring "that religion was a thing of no importance, but may as well be omitted or ignored altogether". It was stated that, as a result of the grant-in-aid system, Christian teachers would be tempted

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113. C.M.S. CI1/M13 p.688.

to give an excessive proportion of time and labour to the secular department in order to win or retain Government aid; that the proposed rules of inspection provided for unnecessary Government interference in missionary affairs, that teachers would find it difficult to reject Government books approved by Inspectors and "in fact", wrote the Secretary of the Corresponding Committee, "we would in great measure sacrifice our independence and freedom, and as yet we know not for what."[114]

Eventually the opposition of the Corresponding Committee and of some of these missionaries to grants-in-aid almost disappeared and, in the late 1850's, C.M.S. missionaries were more conspicuous than others in accepting Government grants.[115] Thus both the Corresponding Committee and the missionaries finally fell more in line with the aims and wishes of Venn and the Parent Committee.

Several factors helped to bring about these changes.

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114. C.M.S. CI1/M13 particularly pp.686-696, Draft regulations and comments upon them by C.M.S. missionaries Long, Stuart, Sandys, Blumhardt, Lincké, Schurr, Kruckeberg, and pp.676-682, Cuthbert's Minute, 9 July 1855.
115. G.R.P.I., 1855-56, Appendix D, pp.8-13; 1856-57, Appendix D, pp.23-28; 1857-58, Appendix E, pp.29-33; 1860-61, Appendix D, pp.23-26.

Opposition to grants-in-aid in the Corresponding Committee was to some extent silenced. Some members, critical of the Government proposals, were Government officials and apparently, for this reason, were afraid "to act on their opinions".[116] Other members of the Committee were influenced by the President, Bishop Wilson, who came out in favour of the Government system.[117] Then, in August 1855, some of the genuine doubts and misgivings of C.M.S. missionaries as well as members of the Corresponding Committee were almost certainly removed by an extremely cordial but frank interview between the Rev. G.G.Cuthbert, Secretary of the Corresponding Committee, and the Lieutenant-Governor himself.[118] In the course of their conversation, Cuthbert outlined the Committee's objections to grants-in-aid as fully as possible. Halliday, in reply, assured Cuthbert of his earnest desire to obtain the missionaries' co-operation. He expressed his admiration of the work being done by missionary societies in education, and stated that he, personally, wanted to give grants with as few restrictions

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116. C.M.S. CI1/079/215 Cuthbert to Venn, 22 August 1855.
117. ibid.; CI1/079/212 Cuthbert to Venn, 17 July 1855.
118. C.M.S. CI1/079/215 Cuthbert to Venn, 22 August 1855; CI1/079/220, 22 September 1855; CI1/M14 Cuthbert to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 24 August 1855.

as possible, but had been overruled by "a higher authority". He explained that he had already taken steps to appoint Inspectors whom he felt would command the respect and confidence of the missionaries and he suggested several times that they should make a trial of the Government's plan, trust in its good intentions and, if anything objectionable occurred, frankly discuss the matter with him. "I must say", wrote Cuthbert in a letter to the Corresponding Committee, "that this interview (taken together with a brief correspondence which I have since had with Mr.Halliday on the feeling of the Govt. towards missions) has tended to relieve my own mind a good deal on the subject of expediency of our accepting the grants-in-aid from Public Funds." Finally, the Corresponding Committee and missionaries were consistently encouraged to co-operate in the Government scheme by the Parent Committee itself. Their first circular, urging missionaries to accept grants-in-aid, was, as mentioned previously, issued before the publication of the Wood Despatch and before the conditions laid down by Government for the giving of grants could be fully known. Hence, in August 1855, just after his interview with Halliday, Cuthbert wrote to the Parent Committee asking for further advice and comment, and, on at least two subsequent occasions,

reminded them that the Corresponding Committee was still waiting for their reply.[119] At last, in December 1855, the Parent Committee issued its second circular on the grants-in-aid question and again strongly advised missionaries to co-operate in the Government scheme.[120] There was now no longer any reason for doubts and hesitation. The way was open for full participation in the Government plans.

Even before the Corresponding Committee received the second circular from the parent organization, they had given C.M.S. missionaries permission to act on their own discretion, "bearing in mind that should the Parent Comtee's answer be unfavourable, the schools which have received Govt-aid would then have to be reduced to their original limits."[121] In August 1855, Long informed the Parent Committee that he intended to apply for a Government grant for his vernacular day school at Thakurpukur.[122] His application was granted and, as a result, he became the first individual missionary in

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119. C.M.S. CI1/079/215 Cuthbert to Venn, 22 August 1855; CI1/079/220, 22 September 1855; CI1/079/221, 8 November 1855.
120. C.M.S. Circulars and Other Papers, vol.2, 1855-1876, No. 319, 4 December 1855.
121. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 12 September 1855.
122. C.M.S. CI1/0185/35 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 8 August 1855.

Bengal to take part in the Government scheme.[123] By the end of 1857, five of his vernacular schools were being given grants-in-aid and he was receiving more financial assistance from Government for vernacular education than any other missionary.[124] His giving instruction to his teachers was allowed to take the place of a financial contribution.[125]

Though, initially, there had been considerable pessimism about the way the system would work in practice, after four years' experience, Long was pleased with results. "I have been satisfied with the working of the Government Grant in Aid", he wrote. "I have five Vernacular Schools under it — and a /generous/ confidence is reposed by the officials which does not hamper one with too close adherence to mere rules".[126] Not all missionaries, however, looked with such favour on the working of the Government system[127] and one wonders how Long would have felt if his schools had not been under the Inspectorship of a Government official who sympathized with missions.

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123. G.R.P.I., 1855-56, Appendix D, pp.8-13.
124. C.M.S. CI1/0185/135 Annual Report 1857, G.R.P.I., 1855-56, Appendix D, p.11; 1856-57, Appendix D, p.24; 1857-58, Appendix E, p.32.
125. C.M.R., vol. III, new series, October 1858, p.290.
126. C.M.S. CI1/0185/141 Annual Letter to Parent Committee, 8 December 1858.
127. M.A.Sherring The History of Protestant Missions in India (1884 ed.) p.111.

Lcng's one regret was that the grants-in-aid system was not more widely extended. As he perceived in 1855, the rule demanding that at least half of the amount of money needed for the establishment and maintenance of schools had to be raised from local sources was "too stringent" to stimulate vernacular education and it appears that any attempt by the Bengal Government to modify the regulations and interpret them in a liberal spirit was opposed by the Supreme Government. In a letter to the Supreme Government in September 1856, Gordon Young (Halliday's Director of Education) suggested that the existing rules should be modified, requiring less from local inhabitants, and he suggested that the Bengal Government should be permitted to pay up to three quarters of the total cost of any school. In rejecting this suggestion, and in pointing out that the Governor-General in Council could see no reason why the rules should be modified, the Secretary to the Government of India, Cecil Beadon, argued that the Bengal Government was directing too much attention to setting up expensive new schools rather than aiding indigenous and cheap ones. However, this allegation was completely denied by Young in his reply.[128]

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128. G.R.P.I., 1856-57, pp.17-32.

In April 1858, the Government of Bengal again tried to persuade the Government of India to modify the grant-in-aid regulations — this time in favour of female education. In view of the existing opposition and apathy to female education, it was suggested that, when village people were willing to provide a school house and send more than 20 girls to school, the Government should be allowed to pay for the other expenses. But the Government of India rejected these proposals on the ground that "unless Female Schools are really and materially supported by voluntary aid, they had better not be established at all."[129] This decision was, in Long's opinion, a further blow to the prospects of elementary education. He explained that all those connected with the Government of Bengal were "very much discouraged", and he urged the Parent Committee to agitate the question in Parliament.[130] He stated that he was about to apply for a grant-in-aid for a female school near Thakurpukur "but", he added, "this answer gives a negative to all hopes for heathen female schools,

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129. Correspondence between Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal and the Secretary to the Government of India, enclosed in C.M.S. CI1/0185/50 Long to Parent Committee, 17 June 1858; G.R.P.I., 1858-1859, p.45.
130. C.M.S. CI1/0185/49 Long to Parent Committee, 4 June 1858.

for how can we expect a people, scarcely awake yet to the need of female education to be willing to pay half the expenses."[131]

These, however, were not the only disappointments. "We have by this Mail received a severe blow to our Educational plans here", wrote Long in August 1858, "by a despatch from the Court of Directors prohibiting all further grants for educational purposes owing to the pressure of financial difficulties.[132] Why this should have been applied to Education first seems strange", he added. "The result is the prospects [sic] of the masses having the word of God opened to them are delayed indefinitely".[133] No new grants were in fact assigned to schools in Bengal until April 1860.[134]

The Wood Despatch looked forward to the time when, with the extension of the grant-in-aid system, the

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131. C.M.S. CI1/0185/50 Long to Parent Committee, 17 June 1858.
132. This was Despatch No. 86 of 1858 (dated 22 June) in which the Directors declared that "we desire that you will bear in mind the great financial difficulties to which we are now exposed, and that you will not on any account sanction any increase of expenditure in any part of India in connection with Education, without our authority previously obtained".
133. C.M.S. CI1/0185/52 Long to Parent Committee, 21 August 1858.
134. G.R.P.I., 1860-1861, p.21.

Government would gradually withdraw from direct participation in education. As Long himself pointed out, the problem of Bible teaching in Government schools would automatically disappear as education passed into the hands of private organizations (aided or otherwise) which would be quite free to teach the Bible or introduce any other form of religious studies.[135] But as the 1850's progressed, the Government showed no sign of withdrawing and the question of Bible teaching in Government schools continued to attract considerable attention. The debate reached a new pitch of intensity in 1858 — towards the end of the Mutiny. Henry Venn and the C.M.S. were among the leaders of renewed agitation centred in England aimed at persuading the Government of India to introduce regular Bible teaching in its schools and colleges. The movement was motivated partly by disappointment with the working of the Wood Despatch and partly by a feeling that the Mutiny demonstrated the perils of the Government policy of neutrality in religious affairs. As well as this, it came at a time when the presence of officials, like Lord Ellenborough, at the India Office stimulated fears that the Government might

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135. C.M.S. CI1/0185/47 Long to Parent Committee, 9 April 1858; CI1/0185/48, 22 April 1858.

adopt a policy still less favourable to missions.[136]

The attitude of the C.M.S. towards Bible teaching in Government schools was not only outlined in the well known Memorial to the Queen,[137] but was given in greater detail in Henry Venn's pamphlet A Plea for an open and unfettered Bible in the Government Schools of India.[138] Venn insisted that teachers and pupils who wished to study the Bible in school hours in Government schools should be able to do so without breaking the law. He argued that there was growing public support for the movement in favour of admitting the Bible into Government schools among important men in both England and India. He declared it was the duty of Government to teach the true principles of right and wrong and that, if the Bible was taught in Government schools, its principles, once accepted, would create a more humane and orderly society. Finally, he denied that such a measure would foster discontent and sow the seeds of another rebellion and he pointed to cases in India where Indians themselves were pressing for Biblical instruction.

Though the agitation in favour of Bible teaching in

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136. E.Stock History of the Church Missionary Society, vol.II, pp.242-246.
137. ibid., pp.242-243.
138. London 1859, in C.M.S. Pamphlets and Papers on India, vol.II.

Government schools does seem to have had fairly wide support in England,[139] it is doubtful whether the movement was whole-heartedly approved by the Bengal missionaries. In fact, the lack of enthusiasm among missionaries in India for the introduction of Bible study in the Government schools may have been one of the reasons why this proposal was ultimately rejected by the Home Government. Halliday, who was well informed and sympathetic to missionaries, claimed, in a letter to Canning,[140] that many of them — like himself — were opposed to the agitation. "I have no patience with the blustering stupidity of the Exeter Hall orators", he wrote in February 1858, "...They unceasingly clamour about the introduction of the Bible into Government Schools. Yet it is a fact that not the keenest Missionary in India will ever advocate this unless there be in every School approved religious <u>teachers</u> as well as the book to be taught.

"It is a rule with the Missionaries decreed from actual experience, that it is better that the Bible should not be taught at all than taught by men who do not believe in it. The furthest length that the most

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139. Stock, vol.II, p.245.
140. H.C. Halliday to Canning, 23 February 1858.

zealous practical man here will go to is to recommend that the Govt. should in its schools authoritatively teach Christianity to all who will voluntarily attend, in places where sound and capable teachers can be procured for the purpose — as for instance — they will say — in the Presidency Towns... But as to the generality of our Schools they are ready at once to admit that the teaching of the Bible is quite out of the question.

"Nor is this all. For it is a still unsettled point among the practical Missionaries whether the Govt. will not do more harm than good by any authoritative religious teaching anywhere. One of the most earnest and active of them said to me not a week ago that for Government to move a finger in the way of authoritative teaching in any of its schools would be to throw back the progress of Christianity in India two hundred years.

"So that it appears the Govt. of India is clamoured down and accused of positively obstructing the spread of Christianity among the Natives because it does not do one thing which all Missionaries in this country are agreed would be wrong; and another thing which not all of those Missionaries are agreed would be right!"

Halliday's lively analysis of the attitude of the Bengal missionaries to the question of Bible teaching in Government schools — his claim that the great majority

were either moderately or severely critical of the "Exeter Hall" proposals — appears to be confirmed by the comments of both Long and Henry Venn. In 1857, Long stated his belief that few missionaries in Bengal wished the Government to take an active part in missions and, later, referring specifically to the Bible question, he argued that "the great body of Missionaries feel that Government undertaking the office of proselyter [sic] would only retard our Missions and inundate us with a large mass of nominal Christianity."[141] Writing a few years later, Venn commented that the admission of a voluntary Bible class into Government schools "is thought by the best friends of India the most important Xn. question, as soon as they return to England... But", he continued, "I have learnt to allow for the difference of vision in the atmosphere of Bengal & of England."[142]

Long himself was generally opposed to the teaching of the Bible in Government schools, though, on one occasion at least, he stated that extracts from Scripture might be introduced with advantage.[143] In letters to the Parent Committee he frequently alluded to the

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141. C.M.S. CI1/0185/38 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 19 July 1857; CI1/0185/42 Long to Parent Committee, 22 November 1857.
142. C.M.S. CI1/L5 Venn to Long, 7 March 1861.
143. C.M.S. CI1/0185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859.

practical difficulties involved in adopting the new proposals.[144] "I was speaking with Judge Wyley on the subject a few days ago", he wrote in February 1858, "and we are both afraid there is a danger in England of wasting strength in the present crisis on theories good in themselves but that cannot be carried out."[145] The great problem, he frequently stated, was the lack of competent Christian teachers. If the Bible was introduced into Government schools who was to teach it? "The overwhelming majority of the teachers are Hindus who do not believe it", he wrote, "and all our past Missionary Experience here goes to show the Bible had better not be taught at all than taught by a heathen teacher who will teach nationalism by it or turn it into ridicule.

"In our Mission schools", he continued, "we cannot procure sufficient Christian teachers, what then could be done for Government Schools."[146]

Henry Venn replied to these and similar comments in a letter to Long in December 1858. "The Bible question", he wrote, "has been sadly hindered by the doubts of good

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144. See for example, C.M.S. CI1/0185/42 Long to Parent Committee, 22 November 1857; CI1/0185/47, 9 April 1858; CI1/0185/48, 22 April 1858; CI1/0185/56, 22 February 1859.
145. C.M.S. CI1/0185/46 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 22 February 1858.
146. ibid.

men as to Teachers. These do not touch the principle of Bible instruction where there are proper teachers & pupils willing to receive it. Many of us think there is a special providence over God's own word which is well able to take care of it. We should not fear putting it into the hands of any Teachers. But we do not urge this because the principle as above stated would be sufficient at present."[147]

Discussions such as these were, however, brought to a temporary, though by no means permanent conclusion by the publication of Lord Stanley's Despatch of 7 April 1859. The whole question of the Bible in Government schools was carefully reconsidered, but, stated the Despatch, "Her Majesty's Government...are unable... to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality as it has hitherto been enforced in the Government schools."[148]

At least as early as 1856, Long was quite consciously bringing his personal influence to bear on the Government's educational policy.[149] In August 1855,

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147. C.M.S. CI1/L5 Venn to Long, 24 December 1858.
148. J.A. Richey (ed.) Selections from Educational Records, Part II, 1840-1859, p.448.
149. C.M.S. CI1/0185/36 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August 1856 and CI1/0185/140 Annual Letter, 20 November 1856.

he wrote enthusiastically to his Parent Committee saying that he was in constant correspondence on the subject of education, either with the Lieutenant-Governor or with his Inspectors, "and I find", he added rather proudly, "they adopt many of my suggestions".[150] In 1856 he was appointed, probably for the first time, to a Government education committee, "to revise the course of studies in Government Schools".[151] "Through my connection with Committee, Government officers etc.," wrote Long, "I have opportunities of bringing the experience I gain down in the villages to bear upon plans for the country at large."[152] About this time, Long was also appointed an Inspector of Government schools.[153]

His contacts with Government officials were not, however, always on a strictly official or formal basis and he spent some time in informal discussion and interview. In April 1858, for example, he and Halliday while breakfasting together, discussed the question of grants-in-aid and Bible teaching in Government schools, and, on another occasion, Long noted that he was sitting

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150. C.M.S. CI1/0185/35 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 8 August 1855.
151. C.M.S. CI1/0185/36 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August 1856.
152. C.M.S. CI1/0185/140 Annual Letter, 20 November 1856.
153. G.R.P.I., 1856-1857, p.16 and Appendix A, pp.158-161.

"for a couple of hours", with an Inspector and Sub-Inspector, "consulting together about the plans for Vernacular Scholarships and laying down a course of study".[154]

But do Long's letters to the Parent Committee give a false impression? Did he have an exaggerated idea of his own importance, or consciously overstate his influence on Government officials in order to impress the Parent Committee? Did Long really have an influence on Government policy?

In the first place, it is clear that he had some influence on Halliday's educational thinking, at least as early as 1854, and secondly, even if Long's work in schools did not give Woodrow the idea of the circle school system, nevertheless, Woodrow's final decision to adopt the system was influenced by Long's example.

Halliday's scheme for encouraging vernacular education in Bengal was based almost entirely on proposals he made to the Council of Education in 1854.[155] He put forward three main ideas, all of which were eventually

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154. See for example C.M.S. CI1/0185/46 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 2 February 1858; CI1/0185/47 to Parent Committee, 9 April 1858; CI1/0185/48, 22 April 1858; CI1/0185/53, 8 October 1858; CI1/0185/55, 24 January 1859.

155. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXII, pp.66-71; G.R.P.I., 1858-59, p.30.

put into practice and developed during his term of office as Lieutenant-Governor. As already seen, he proposed that a system of grants-in-aid to mission and other schools should be introduced; he also suggested that the Government should "establish a system of Model Schools as an example to the indigenous schools" and, finally, that a regular plan of visitation should be adopted, "by which indigenous School-masters may gradually be stimulated to improve up to the models set before them." In order to explain how this last proposal could be carried out Halliday referred directly to Long's example. "There is a method of doing this", (improving indigenous schools) he wrote, "which has been found successful by a zealous Missionary,[156] and which, together with other methods, might be employed by the Superintendent. It is to supplying /sic/ books to a promising indigenous School-master, and give him a small pecuniary reward for every boy in his School capable, after a time, of reading and understanding these books, upon condition of being allowed to introduce a superior class of Teachers into the School, as soon as it shall become fit for it. By these means," he concluded, "a number of indigenous

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156. Shortly after this passage Halliday explained that he was speaking of "Mr.Long", Selections, p.67.

Schools may possibly be greatly improved at a small comparative expense."

This method of improving indigenous schools was put into practice by Henry Woodrow in 1855. The most promising schools in the 24-Parganas, Baraset, Jessore and Dacca were formed into sets of circles of 3, 4 or 5, according to circumstances; and to each circle was attached a qualified teacher paid by Government who went around from one school to the other "instructing the 'Gooroomohashoys' in their duty and the more advanced boys of each School in the higher subjects of instructions". The original teacher still kept his school, collected his fees and taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, but was expected to leave to others "the duties which he himself is unable to discharge". As an inducement to fall in with the plans of Government and to improve his own system, "consecrated as it is by the sanction of centuries", he was given a small allowance of so much a head for boys of a certain standing.[157]

Thus the scheme Woodrow put into practice in 1855 was practically identical with the scheme developed by Long and recommended by Halliday in 1854. But was there

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157. G.R.P.I., 1855-56, p.12 and Appendix A, pp.33-37.

any real connection between Long's ideas and work and Woodrow's scheme? Was Woodrow influenced by Long?

It is possible, though by no means certain, that Woodrow did get the idea of a circle system from Long's practice in the villages near Thakurpukur. While it is clear that Long was not the only missionary using this system,[158] (and hence Woodrow could have got his ideas from any one of a number of people) nevertheless, it should be noted (a) that Woodrow visited Thakurpukur long before he adopted the circle system[159] and (b) he was a member of the Council of Education in 1854 when Halliday explained Long's practice and recommended its adoption by Government.[160]

However, what is certain is that Woodrow's final decision to adopt the circle system was influenced by Long's example - as well as by the example of a number of other missionaries. In a letter to Halliday in which he described his plans, Woodrow explained that the Government teacher might be able to take from three to six indigenous schools daily in succession. "The Bengalis", he wrote, "are so fond of writing, that

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158. G.R.P.I., 1855-56, Appendix A, pp.33-34.
159. What May be Done, p.9; C.M.S. CI1/M12 French to Venn, 7 January 1851.
160. Selections, No. XXII, pp.62-63.

without much trouble he may so arrange that the chief part of the day be occupied in correcting exercises and setting work for the next visit. This plan," he added, "is not a mere theory, but is practised successfully by the Kishnaghur Missionaries, by Mr. Long and Mr. Sandys, and therefore I feel confidence in its practicability."[161]

Long may also have had some influence on Woodrow indirectly through Halliday. Halliday was greatly impressed with Long's achievement. Woodrow, being one of Halliday's Inspectors and knowing this, must have been greatly encouraged to go ahead with his plans — confident that he would have Halliday's enthusiastic support.[162]

As a member of Government education committees Long was able to exercise further influence on Government policy. In 1854, the Government asked him to recommend vernacular books "suitable for schools and also for Station Libraries",[163] and some years later, he was appointed to a Committee of three to inquire into the high price of elementary books.[164] But perhaps Long's most important work on Government education committees

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161. G.R.P.I., 1855-56, Appendix A, pp.33-34.
162. He had to obtain Halliday's permission to put his scheme into practice, G.R.P.I., 1855-1856, Appendix A, p.33.
163. C.M.S. C11/0185/33 Long to Venn, 18 August 1854.
164. Long's Introduction to Adam's Reports [1868 ed.] p.22. Henry Woodrow and Rajendralal Mitra were the other two members of this Committee.

was in connection with the Government zilla (or district) schools. It was originally hoped that these schools would indirectly give an impetus to vernacular education, as well as provide an education through English at a higher level.[165] In 1856, the Government appointed a committee of six (with Long's name heading the list) to make inquiries and recommend improvements in the course of instruction in zilla schools and also in the rules "by which their discipline and internal economy are regulated."[166] This committee sat for at least three months, and several of the reforms it recommended were, in 1857, in the course of being carried out.[167] In his Report two years later the Director of Public Instruction stated that the zilla schools were almost all in a satisfactory state. "Those at Cuttack, Howrah, Ooterparah and Bancoorah", he wrote, "have been raised to the status of 1st grade Schools, as recommended in

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165. H.A. Stark Vernacular Education in Bengal, p.23.
166. G.R.P.I., 1855-56, p.6. "I have been the last three months sitting on a Government Committee on Education for all Bengal," wrote Long in November 1856, "and have found them most valuable opportunities of making suggestions on important points and I must say", he continued, "I have found various suggestions made by me acted on both by the Lieutenant Governor and the Directors of Public Instruction." /C.M.S. CI1/0185/140 Annual Letter, 20 November 1856./
167. G.R.P.I., 1856-1857, p.13.

the report of the Committee for the improvement of schools".[168]

It appears that the Committee also spent some time inquiring into the state of numerous private, but Government aided schools which had grown up and were attempting to shape themselves on the Government zilla school model.[169] The Committee's recommendations for these schools show quite clearly the Committee's determination to encourage vernacular rather than English education, and one can perhaps detect, in the background, echoes of Long's own arguments and well-worn phrases. It was stated that education in these schools could become "a means of diffusing, throughout the country, knowledge of a practical kind, bearing on the daily wants and occupations of life, and of enlightening the masses generally," only if such knowledge was imparted through the vernacular. It was noted in particular, that knowledge imparted through this medium "must obviously be more accurate and real" than knowledge imparted through a less familiar foreign tongue, and that, "a far greater amount of knowledge can be imparted through the Vernacular in a given time, and for a given expenditure,

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168. G.R.P.I., 1858-1859, p.14.
169. G.R.P.I., 1856-1857, p.13.

than through English." The Committee, taking these points and others into consideration, recommended that these schools should not be encouraged and given Government aid "except on the understanding that English should be taught as a language only (as French, etc., are taught in schools in England); instruction in all the other and ordinary subjects of School-teaching being conveyed in the Vernacular."[170]

Finally, as an Inspector, Long was able to make recommendations to the Government, and possibly had some influence on courses of study and teaching methods in particular schools. After 1854, it was not uncommon for Provincial Governments in India to appoint missionaries as inspectors of schools[171] and, on several occasions, Long acted in this capacity. He visited and examined the Government Sanskrit Institutions at Calcutta and Benares[172] and a report of a visit he made, in March 1856, to the Government Normal (or Teacher Training) Vernacular Institution at Hooghly, was published in the

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170. G.R.P.I., 1856-57, pp.13-16.
171. J. Richter A History of Missions in India, p.308.
172. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Long to Cuthbert, 25 December [1857].

General Report on Public Instruction for 1856-57.[173] In his Report on the Hooghly Institution, Long stated that he was extremely pleased with the teaching methods followed and the progress being made. "I have only to regret," he said, "that you have not the means of instructing 120 Village Teachers, instead of 60, and your Institution has not an allowance of Rupees 1200 monthly, which the Benares Normal School has". In a separate letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, Long again described the methods of teaching being used in the Hooghly Institution, suggested they should be used in other teacher training institutions and, in conclusion, expressed the hope that the Government would establish at least two new institutions on the Hooghly Normal School model in the near future.[174]

At the same time as Long was advocating a further extension of the grants-in-aid system and was co-operating with Government officials in plans for extending and improving Government vernacular education, he was also

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173. G.R.P.I., 1856-57, Appendix A, pp.158-161. "As expressing the opinions of a practical and experienced Educationist unconnected with the Department or with Government, it will be read with interest", wrote the Director. /G.R.P.I., 1856-57, p.16./

174. G.R.P.I., 1856-57, Appendix A, pp.160-161.

urging missionaries to devote more time and attention to their own schemes of elementary instruction. He hoped that the example and success of his own schools at Thakurpukur would encourage other missionaries to try similar experiments in vernacular education, and, for those who had not visited and seen his schools, he published an article What May be Done, first in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer and later in pamphlet form.[175] In addition to drawing attention through missionary literature to the great need of vernacular education, he spoke on the same subject to several meetings of missionaries and clergy — for example, to the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries in 1855, to a meeting of the Church Missionary Association in 1856 and to a meeting of Anglican clergy convened by Bishop Cotton in 1861.[176]

But Long's campaign outside Government circles was not limited to Bengal missionaries and clergy. He was determined to arouse sympathy in England itself for the plight and ignorance of the masses. He wrote numerous

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175. Long's article was also published in the Church Missionary Gleaner, vol.IV, new series, 1854, pp.124-144 and Cuthbert's introductory remarks in Proceedings of the C.M.S., 56th Annual Report, 1855, pp.77-78.

176. C.M.S. CI1/0185/154 Peasant Degradation, 8 April 1856; CI1/0185/71 Long to Parent Committee, 23 March 1861; C.C.O., vol.XXIV, December 1855, pp.543-4, 548.

letters to the C.M.S. Parent Committee in particular, urging them to devote much more time and attention to vernacular education. As mentioned earlier, he argued that the ignorance of the masses was one of the greatest barriers to the spread of Christianity. "Here in Bengal", wrote Long, in one of his typical letters to the Parent Committee, "we are more and more feeling the enlightenment of the ryots is an element in Gospel success... unless the people are enabled to read God's word how little permanent effect can preaching have — you know men in authority", he continued, "if you would exert your influence with them on one point that more money should be spent on Vernacular Education, the masses are in a fearful state here."[177]

While there appears to be nothing in available material which sheds much light on the effect of Long's agitation on the Bengal missionaries and clergy, it is clear that he had an important influence on Venn and the C.M.S. Parent Committee.

On 29 September 1857, the Parent Committee issued a Minute in connection with the Indian Mutiny and the approaching day of national humiliation.[178] In its

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177. C.M.S. CI1/0185/36 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August 1856.
178. Appointed for 7 October.

Minute the Committee suggested "that the present would be an appropriate occasion for a great special effort to give Christian instruction, in the vernacular languages of India, to the masses of the population, and to provide them with a vernacular moral and Christian literature. The question which now trembles in the balance", continued the Committee, "is, whether the masses, will rise with the mutineer Sepoys, or remain faithful, or at least passive. Yet few attempts have been made for the education of these masses. Missionary Societies need to be aided by some separate effort for this object. Might not all supporters of Protestant Missionary Societies unite together to accomplish this special work? The season is favourable to such a union, as a common calamity has tended to bring all parties together for united prayer. A limited effort, upon this principle, to supply Vernacular Schoolbooks, is in operation for South India. Such a special work would supply an interesting memorial of a season of unprecedented peril to the honour and welfare of England, when the calamity shall be, through God's good providence, overpast. The Committee venture, therefore, to throw out the suggestion for further consideration".[179]

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179. Quoted in C.V.E.S. for India, First Annual Report, London 1859, pp.7-8.

This public proposal by the C.M.S. aroused considerable interest and had far reaching effects. It launched a movement, carefully nurtured and, to an important extent, guided and supported by the C.M.S., which eventually led to the formation of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India at a public meeting in May 1858. In January 1858, some months before the new Society was officially formed, Venn, in a letter to Long, described events and wrote as follows: "It is due to the zeal & ability with which you have for many years advocated vernacular education in India to send you a line with the notice which the mail will convey of a movement at home in that direction.

"You will have seen in the C.M.S. Minute issued on the eve of the Fast day that such a movement was suggested: & I can assure you that your many communications to our Comee upon the subject had great weight with us in putting forward that suggestion: which has met with much acceptance."[180]

The importance of Long's influence on the C.M.S. Parent Committee can be fully appreciated only when it is understood that Venn and his Committee played what

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180. C.M.S. CI1/L5 Venn to Long, 2 January 1858.

was perhaps the crucial role in the formation of the new Society. If the C.M.S. officials in London had not been constantly reminded of the importance of vernacular education, if they had not been urged and inspired into action, then, it is quite possible, that no new society would have been formed.

Soon after the publication of the C.M.S. Minute of 29 September, Henry Venn invited the Rev. W. Arthur of the W.M.M.S., the Rev. A. Tidman of the L.M.S. and Mr. E.B. Underhill of the B.M.S. to meet himself and his colleague, the Rev. William Knight, in his room. After full discussion they separated for a week, deciding to meet again when each had consulted his friends. The next meeting was in the Rev. Arthur's room and there a statement entitled Outline of a Proposal for a Christian Vernacular Education Society for India was agreed upon. This pamphlet was then circulated among a number of representative men.[181] This was in October 1857.

Some weeks later, in November, the Evangelical Alliance held its eleventh Annual Conference in

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181. Henry Morris The Life of John Murdoch LL.D., London 1906, p.105; C.V.E.S. for India, First Annual Report, London 1859, p.8; Evangelical Christendom, 1 January 1858, pp. 7-8.

London.[182] Delegates there also discussed the need for Christian education in India and recorded their "decided opinion" that "the Evangelical Christians of the United Kingdom may advantageously unite together for the promotion of Christian education in that country".[183]

This discussion and the resolution, however, were almost certainly prompted by the publicity already given to the question by the mission Secretaries. There was in fact a good deal of contact between delegates of the Conference and the missionary societies involved in the proposal for a new education society. The mission societies, like the Alliance, were "Evangelical", and some of the leading delegates at the Conference had important official positions in the missionary

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182. The Evangelical Alliance was founded by Scottish ministers and laymen in Liverpool in 1845. Its primary object was the promoting of union among Evangelical Christians of different denominations, but it also paid some attention to "the defence of religious liberty in foreign countries" (particularly Protestant rights in Catholic countries) and to "the initiation of various enterprises for the direct work of the Gospel in Heathen, Mahommedan and Christian countries". There were branches of the Alliance in many countries including France, Germany, Switzerland, Turkey and India and international assemblies of the Alliance were held from time to time in various capital cities. /See History and Prospects of the Evangelical Alliance 1859, London 1859./

183. Evangelical Alliance, British Organization, Report presented to the 11th Annual Conference held in London, 1857, with an abstract of proceedings etc. p.XXXVIII.

organizations. Thomas Farmer, who seconded the resolution on education, was Treasurer of the W.M.S.[184] and must surely have been informed by the Secretary of his Society, the Rev. W. Arthur, of the discussions that had already been held between the mission Secretaries on plans for a new society. Sir Culling E. Eardley, Chairman of the Conference and founder of the Alliance, was also President of the L.M.S.[185] He spoke strongly in favour of the resolution, admitted having consulted with officers of the different mission societies and quoted from a document — probably the Outline of a Proposal — signed by them. Finally, he explained to the Conference that the Secretaries were already prepared with a plan which they thought "would respond to the general demand made throughout the country."[186] Thus delegates at the Conference did no more than consider the ideas already put forward by the mission

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184. Evangelical Alliance, British Organization, Report presented to the 11th Annual Conference held in London, 1857, with an abstract of proceedings etc. p.XXXVIII.

185. Dictionary of National Biography. The Hon.Arthur Kinnaird, another prominent member of the Alliance, and the Rev. W. Cardall, one of the two Secretaries had connections with the C.M.S./ D.N.B. and History and Prospects of the Evangelical Alliance, p.16./

186. Evangelical Alliance, British Organization, Report presented to the 11th Annual Conference etc. p.XXXV.

Secretaries. They (the delegates) were impressed with the suggestion for a new educational organization and, as a result, joined forces with the missionary societies to give added impetus to the movement.

The Conference appointed a Provisional Sub-Committee for Education in India, which was instructed to consult with officers and committees of the missionary societies and churches and with other leading Christian men.[187] These consultations were held, and the Evangelical Alliance and the Mission Secretaries agreed to hold a preliminary meeting at the Caledonian Hotel, Adelphi, on 18 December 1857, "to see whether any common basis of action could be agreed upon, and, if so, what steps it would be desirable to take for the purpose of carrying it out." At this meeting — attended by 60 to 70 persons — it was decided to form the new Society along the lines suggested by the mission Secretaries and a public meeting was to be convened as early as possible for this purpose.[188]

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187. Evangelical Alliance, British Organization, Report presented to the 11th Annual Conference etc. pp.XXXVIII-XXXIX; C.V.E.S. for India, First Annual Report, London 1859, pp.8-9; Evangelical Christendom, 1 January 1858, p.8.

188. C.V.E.S. for India, 1st Annual Report, 1859, p.9 and Appendix; Evangelical Christendom, 1 January 1858, pp 9-11.

At this public meeting, held in St. James' Hall, Piccadilly, on 20 May 1858, the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India was officially formed. The meeting was presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and speakers, who stressed the need for the new Society, included Henry Venn and the Rev. William Knight of the C.M.S., the Rev. Joseph Mullens of the L.M.S. and J.C. Marshman, son of the Rev. J. Marshman and editor of the Friend of India.[189] The primary objects of the Society were "to establish in the great towns of India, Christian Vernacular Training Institutions, Male and Female, and to supply as far as possible, in each of the native languages of India, School Books and other Educational Works, prepared on Christian principles". The administration of the Society was to be conducted by a Central Committee in London, "composed of members of various denominations of Protestant Evangelical Christians", assisted by local committees in India. Funds, which already amounted to £558, were to be raised mainly by donation, subscription and by school fees in India.[190]

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189. C.V.E.S. for India, Occasional Paper, No. 11, July 1858.

190. ibid., and C.V.E.S. for India, 1st Annual Report, 1859.

C.M.S. officials, who had originally suggested the idea of the new Society and who had played such an important part in the events leading up to the Society's formation in May 1858, provided it with a great deal of financial help. In July 1858 subscriptions to the C.V.E.S. amounting to £669.2.10d, or 62% of the total amount subscribed up to that date, were listed in detail. Over a third of this amount, £250, was subscribed directly by the C.M.S., and at least one-fifth was collected by C.M.S.officials.[191] After its formation, it was the C.M.S.officials again who tended to dominate the Society's administration. Two of the three most important positions in the new Society went to C.M.S. officials. John Murdoch, a missionary agent of the United Presbyterian Church, was appointed Indian Agent, but Henry Carre Tucker and the Rev. J.H.Titcomb, both on the C.M.S. Parent Committee, were made

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191. C.V.E.S. for India, Occasional Paper, No.11, July 1858, p.16.
The General Committee of the W.M.M.S. voted £50 to the C.V.E.S. about one week before the Society was officially formed. /M.M.S. MSS. General Minute Book, No. 7 (September 1851 to May 1865) 12 May 1858, p.370./

Secretaries.[192] Tucker was appointed "to carry on a correspondence, and arrange with various local Associations, Book Societies, and influential friends of Christian education in India", and Titcomb, to conduct and organize the home business.[193]

The organizing of local committees of the C.V.E.S. in India was left to John Murdoch, the Indian Agent. He took up his official appointment on 1 September 1858[194] and, soon after, proceeded to Calcutta with the object of forming a branch of the Society there. But, according to Henry Morris, his biographer, he felt very much discouraged by the apathy and coldness which he had

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192. Titcomb subsequently became the first Bishop of Rangoon (Stock, Vol.II, p.37)
Tucker was already very well known. Described by Murdoch as a "little", active man, he had had a great deal of experience in India. He was appointed Commissioner at Benares and distinguished himself by his fearless conduct during the Mutiny. Long greatly admired him, and, in one of his letters to the C.M.S., written just after Tucker's return to England in 1858, described him as a warm friend of missions and education. "I hope he may be a Member of your Committee", wrote Long, "as his advice would be most valuable — his praise is in all the Churches". Later in the same year, and as Long had hoped, Tucker was appointed to the C.M.S. Committee and remained a leading and valuable member of it until his death in 1875. / C.M.S. CI1/0185/47 Long to Parent Committee, 9 April 1858; Stock, Vol.II, pp.220-221; C.E. Buckland Dictionary of Indian Biography, London 1906, p.430. /

193. C.V.E.S. for India, 1st Annual Report, London 1859, pp.10-11.

194. ibid.,p.11.

to encounter.[195] The Bishop, presumably Bishop Cotton, promised to give his approval to the new enterprise, provided that only Christian teachers were employed.[196] "Dr. Duff, James Long, Archdeacon Pratt, Mr. Macleod Wylie", wrote Morris, "all united in throwing cold water on the new scheme, but would have been glad to receive pecuniary help in the existing educational work.

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195. The Life of John Murdoch, p.113.

196. Morris, who described Murdoch's visit to Calcutta, wrote that "Bishop Wilson had quite reached the evening of his days; but he promised to give his approval to the new enterprise, provided that only Christian teachers were employed". /The Life of John Murdoch, p.113/. The Bishop of Calcutta did promise to give his support, /C.V.E.S. for India, 1st Annual Report, 1859, p.18/ but this Bishop was almost certainly Cotton and not Bishop Wilson. Bishop Wilson died on 2 January 1858 /J. Bateman Life of the Rt.Rev. Daniel Wilson D.D., 1860 ed., p.417/ before the C.V.E.S. was formed in England and well before Murdoch was offered the position of Indian Agent. Murdoch took up his official duties on 1 September 1858, and his first visit to Calcutta in connection with the new Society appears to have been in December 1858 — eleven months after Bishop Wilson's death. /Prospectus of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S. for India, Calcutta 1859, p.6/. The old Bishop's funeral, on Monday 4 January 1858, was described by Lady Canning in her diary, "C./Charles/ went to the Bishop's funeral — he is buried under the altar in his Cathedral to which he gave 25000£ long ago & often spent more afterwards. I hear 2000 people were there, and a good many native Christians. He had great merit with all his oddity. I hope a good choice will be made for the next...I hope it will be a new man from England." /Harewood Collection, Lady Canning's Diaries 1856-58, 4 January 1858, back of p.273./

The only practical suggestion was made by Mr. Long, to the effect that the indigenous schools might be improved."[197] However, in spite of these difficulties, a branch of the Society was formed at Calcutta in January 1859. The Bishop accepted the office of President and a Committee of seventeen was formed, composed mainly of members of the various Protestant missionary societies together with a few "other friends interested in education". Long was, of course, on the general Committee, and as well as this, was appointed, with four other members, to a Bengali sub-committee — presumably to deal with the literary aspect of the Committee's work.[198]

It is clear, that there was, from the beginning, disagreement between John Murdoch and the newly appointed Calcutta Committee. These disagreements are reflected in the Annual Reports of the C.V.E.S.[199] and seriously retarded the progress of the Bengal Branch. In fact, in its early years, the Society made less progress in

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197. The Life Of John Murdoch, p.113.
198. Prospectus of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S. for India, 1859, pp.3 and 7.
Some of the others on the Committee were Dr. Duff and the Rev. E. Ewart of the Free Church of Scotland, the Revs.Cuthbert and Sandys of the C.M.S., the Rev. Wenger of the B.M.S. and the Rev. E.Storrow of the L.M.S.
199. See Annual Reports for 1860 and 1861.

Bengal than anywhere else in India.

Even before Murdoch's arrival in Calcutta, Long, enthusiastic as he was about the new Society, expressed some misgivings about its organization. Together with Duff, Wylie and others, he felt that the Society should have made more efforts to enlist the Government's financial support. He argued that there was little hope of the Society carrying out its plans "by mere voluntary aid" and that it could achieve its objects only by co-operating with Government.[200]

The Committee's first major clash with Murdoch seems to have involved the question of new teacher training institutions. As already seen, one of the principal objects of the C.V.E.S. was to establish these institutions, staffed by "training masters", in each of the Presidencies; and this is what the Society was already doing in Madras.[201] The Bengal Committee, however, wanted the C.V.E.S. to work through existing missionary institutions and help them by giving grants.[202] It was felt that the training of teachers for missionary vernacular schools could best be undertaken by

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200. C.M.S. CI1/0185/53 Long to Parent Committee, 8 October 1858.
201. C.V.E.S. for India, 2nd Annual Report, 1860, pp.13-16.
202. ibid., p.18.

themselves.[203] There was evidently a distrust of the Society's teacher training methods — possibly a fear (well grounded or otherwise) that some studies would be conducted through English. Long, in a letter to the Rev. Knight discussing the C.V.E.S., wrote that "We are very decided here that the admission of English studies would be incompatible with the object of raising up a body of village teachers who would be content with moderate salaries and adapted to the people."[204] The Society had already decided to instruct the Indian training masters through English and this too may have caused some anxiety.[205] But whatever its motives, the Bengal Committee opposed the idea of a new teacher training institution. The C.V.E.S. Parent Committee rejected the suggestion that grants should be given to existing institutions and, in the following year, a completely new scheme for encouraging and improving vernacular teachers was discussed and eventually adopted by the Bengal Branch.[206] This was an examination scheme with the object of encouraging successful candidates by

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203. Prospectus of the Bengal Branch, 1859, p.8.
204. C.M.S. CI1/0185/51 Long to Knight, 17 July 1858.
205. C.V.E.S. for India, 2nd Annual Report, 1860, pp.13-16.
206. C.V.E.S. for India, 3rd Annual Report, 1861, pp.19-20.

rewards, "and thus to stimulate the whole body to self-improvement".

A second serious disagreement with Murdoch developed towards the end of 1859. This time the Bengal Committee opposed the idea that it should publish vernacular school books and Christian literature. This was partly because there were organizations in Calcutta, like the Tract Society, already carrying out similar work. Dr. Duff, for example, who was on both the Bengal C.V.E.S. and Tract Committees, appears to have felt that a publications department in the Bengal C.V.E.S. was quite unnecessary and would damage the work of older well-established societies.[207] The Committee of the C.V.E.S. refused to consider the question of its publishing school books and Christian literature until Murdoch had consulted with the Tract Committee.[208] Accordingly, on 10 January 1860, Murdoch attended one of their meetings under the chairmanship of Duff. However, judging from Murdoch's diary, the Tract Committee seemed to think that it should publish all Christian books in one or other of its departments.[209]

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207. H. Morris The Life of John Murdoch, pp.128-129.
208. ibid., p.129
209. ibid., p.129.

At a final meeting of the Tract Committee which Murdoch attended Duff apparently objected to the Bengal C.V.E.S. publishing anything at all. Murdoch, in reply, said he would solve the difficulty by publishing on his own responsibility and under his own name.[210]

These clashes between Murdoch and the Bengal C.V.E.S. Committee over questions of policy were possibly intensified by personal factors. Ever since his early experiences in Madras, Murdoch had a dread of committees[211] and, when differences of opinion over policy already existed, his attitude may have strained relations betwecn himself and the Committee still further.

In spite of the comment by Morris that Long was one of those who "united in throwing cold water on the new scheme", his opposition was only to practical details which he felt would prevent the Society from working effectively. In fact, he was probably as dedicated to the aims of the Society as Murdoch himself, and certainly was one of its most ardent supporters. An article of his advocating the C.V.E.S. was published in the Calcutta Review,[212] in June 1859, and, early in 1861,

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210. H. Morris The Life of John Murdoch, p.129.
211. ibid., p.76.
212. "Christian Orientalism", Calcutta Review, No.LXIV, June 1859, especially pp.289-297.

he brought the Society to the notice of Anglican clergy at one of their monthly meetings.[213] His anxiety lest the C.V.E.S. should fail is clearly apparent in his letters to the Parent Committee of the C.M.S.,[214] and the apathy and lack of progress being made in Bengal plunged him into deep depression. "The apathy here on the part both of Missionaries and others towards the Christian Vernacular Education Soc. is something fearful", he wrote in February 1859, "and this after the Mutiny has shewn [sic] the fruits of leaving the masses in ignorance."[215] In another letter, he complained that the Committee showed very little zeal either in raising local funds or in publicising the Society's work. "All approve of the objects of the Society", he remarked, sarcastically, "but scarcely any will do any thing to forward the matter...I am getting disheartened at the subject... the religious public seem dead to its [the Society's] paramount importance — and our existing Missionary

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213. C.M.S. CI1/0185/71 Long to Parent Committee, 23 March 1861.
214. C.M.S. CI1/0185/51 Long to Knight, 17 July 1858; CI1/0185/53 Long to Parent Committee, 8 October 1858; CI1/0185/56, 22 February 1859; CI1/0185/62, 22 August 1859; CI1/0185/71, 23 March 1861.
215. C.M.S. CI1/0185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859.

organization does little in this peculiar way."[216]

However, by the end of 1861, Murdoch, in particular, was beginning to feel more optimistic about the prospects of the Bengal Branch.[217] The Report for 1861 shows that at last some progress was being made. The examination scheme for vernacular teachers seemed, in Murdoch's opinion, "to have conciliated all parties", and it was hoped that the new plan would give an impulse to the Society throughout Bengal.

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216. C.M.S. CI1/0185/62 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August 1859.
217. H. Morris The Life of John Murdoch, pp.134-135.

CHAPTER III

The Indigenous Churches and the Problems of Growth, 1850-1861

Protestant missionaries in Bengal had long been concerned with the problem of training Bengali preachers and teachers. They realized that the supply of European missionaries was strictly limited and that they could never hope to evangelize India's enormous population without the assistance of her own people.[1] Moreover, some missionaries felt that Indians themselves could, in any case, carry out the task more effectively than Europeans." Even supposing we had ten thousand Western Missionaries in this land", wrote a contributor to the Calcutta Christian Observer, "they could never effect the good that native preachers might effect. Their ability to bear the heat, their knowledge of their own tongue, and of the modes of thought and kinds of error of their hearers, give them an advantage which we can never fully attain."[2] Finally,

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1. C.C.O., Vol.IX, September 1840, p.531; A.Duff India and India Missions, pp.308-313; C.M.S. CI1/0185/127 Annual Report 1844; C.M.S. CI1/0218/3 Osborne to Venn, 2 June 1845; C.M.S. CI1/M6 Calcutta Corresponding Committee to Parent Committee, 16 October 1834; Cox History of the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol.II, pp.296-7; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1851, p.247.
2. C.C.O., Vol. XVIII, June 1849, p.257; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1851, p.247; C.M.S. CI1/M6 Calcutta Corresponding Committee to Parent Committee, 16 October 1834.

there were important financial considerations. Missionary societies were anxious to reduce expenditure, and it was felt that Bengali preachers could live more cheaply than Europeans.[3]

However, not all missionaries thought purely in terms of training Bengalis who would act as their assistants in evangelism. As Christian communities grew in size and number, missionaries became increasingly involved in pastoral duties caring for converts, and the idea developed during the 1850's that Bengalis themselves should be trained as pastors — thus setting European missionaries free for further evangelistic activity among the non-Christian population.[4] This idea was encouraged by Henry Venn, Secretary of the C.M.S.[5] In a minute, circulated to all the C.M.S. missionaries in India in 1851, he emphasized the difference between the office of a missionary, "who preaches to the heathen,

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3. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Calcutta Corresponding Committee to Parent Committee, 16 October 1834.
4. Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal (1855) p.43; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. (1863) pp.42, 45; C.M.S. CI1/0180/43 Lincke's Report, 30 September 1858.
5. W. Knight Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn, pp.305-307 (Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers, 1851); C.M.S. CI1/04/4/13 Bengal District Conference Report, 8-10 July 1851.

and instructs inquirers or recent converts," and the office of a pastor, "who ministers in holy things to a congregation of native Christians". He explained that as soon as settled congregations were formed, pastoral care should be devolved upon Bengali teachers or catechists and that, as a general rule, a catechist should be ordained only with a view to his becoming a pastor of some specific district or Indian congregation.[6]

Venn hoped that this measure would stimulate the development of a self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending indigenous church[7] — but, in at least one respect, the plan fell short of his expectations. By encouraging missionaries to think of evangelism as their own prerogative, it probably hindered the growth of missionary-conscious, self-extending Christian communities.[8]

Some Bengali preachers and teachers had probably never had any kind of systematic training.[9] Others were more carefully prepared for their work, under the guidance of an individual missionary, or in an institution

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6. Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers, 1851.
7. E.Stock History of the Church Missionary Society, vol.II, pp.83, 411-422.
8. Infra pp.158-159.
9. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, June 1849, p.261.

or seminary. In 1850, most of the Protestant missionary societies conducted theological classes in colleges in or near Calcutta. The Free Church of Scotland, which had a theological department connected with its English institution, and the S.P.G. which trained students at Bishop's College, appear to have conducted courses almost entirely in English.[10] Among the advantages attached to this type of training was the fact that European teachers did not have to learn the vernacular and that the theological literature required was readily available.[11]

However, the L.M.S. at ~~Berhampore~~ Bhowanipur and the B.M.S. — which seems to have moved its training centre from Intally to Serampore in about 1851 — trained converts through the vernacular.[12] There was perhaps a trend in the 1850's, especially among the C.M.S. missionaries, in

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10. G. Smith Alexander Duff, vol.I , p.112; J. Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.458; H.P.Thompson Into all Lands, pp.177-178, 345-346; J. Hough A History of Christianity in India, vol. V, London 1860, p.43. The Church of Scotland missionaries were hoping to train some of their converts in their English institution in Calcutta. /Home and Foreign Missionary Record (C. of S.) vol.V, 1848-1850, pp.144, 224./
11. C.C.O., vol. IX, September 1840, pp.532-534.
12. J. Mullens Brief Memorials of the Rev. Alphonse Francois Lacroix, pp.143-144; B.M.S. Fifty-eighth Annual Report, 1850, p.35; Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal (1855) pp.56-57; R. Lovett The History of the London Missionary Society, vol. II, p.173.

favour of this type of training.[13] It was argued that men educated through English were generally unsuited for work in village areas.[14] In the opinion of some missionaries, they were not only difficult to retain,[15] but, by demanding the kind of salary few village congregations could afford to pay, threatened to blight the prospects of a self-supporting indigenous church.[16] Moreover, it was felt that preachers and teachers trained in English were "too much elevated in their views and habits", were inclined to adopt expensive habits and were likely to infect their colleagues educated in the vernacular with the same attitudes and "to corrupt their simplicity";[17] it was asserted that

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13. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/5 Bengal District Conference Reports, 18-20 November 1846; CI1/04/4/8, 7-10 March 1849; CI1/04/4/23, 8-10 March 1859; Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No.XXXII, Calcutta 1859, p.X; Home and Foreign Missionary Record (C. of S.) vol.XII, July 1857, pp.158-159.
14. C.M.S. CI1/0185/116 Long's Journal, 16 May 1849; CI1/0185/59 Long to Parent Committee, 17 May 1859; Cox History of the Baptist Missionary Society, vol.II, p.276.
15. C.M.S. CI/04/4/23 Bengal District Conference Report, 8-10 March 1859; Home and Foreign Missionary Record (C. of S.), vol.XII, July 1857, pp.158-159.
16. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1851, p.250.
17. C.M.S. CI1/0185/25 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 1 June 1850; CI1/M11 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Minute, 23 April 1849.

they became "self-opinionated and indisposed to mix with the humbler classes of Christians and Hindus"[18] and it was stressed that converts trained in this way were, in many cases, unable to communicate their ideas effectively in the vernacular.[19] While it was claimed that such difficulties were avoided by training converts through the vernacular, it was also argued that this type of training could be given over a shorter period, as students did not have to spend time in acquiring, what was all too often, a superficial "smattering" of a foreign language.[20]

Because of the failure of the head seminary, the C.M.S. in Bengal had no training scheme of its own in the late 1840's. Various new ideas were discussed by C.M.S. missionaries,[21] but no definite decisions were reached

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18. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/23 Bengal District Conference Report, 8-10 March 1859; CI1/050/35 Santipur Mission-Report, 10 December 1855; CI1/0185/60 Long to Cotton, 1 June 1859.
19. C.M.S. CI1/0185/59 Long to Parent Committee, 17 May 1859; CI1/050/35 Santipur Mission - Report, 10 December 1855; Home and Foreign Missionary Record (C. of S.), vol.XII, July 1857, p.158; Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No.XXXII, p.X.
20. C.M.S. CI1/050/35 Santipur Mission - Report, 10 December 1855; CI1/04/4/23 Bengal District Conference Report, 8-10 March 1859; C.C.O., vol.XVIII, June 1849, p.262.
21. C.M.S. Bengal District Conference Reports CI1/04/4/1, 5-6 February 1845; CI1/04/4/4, 3-5 June 1846; CI1/04/4/8, 7-9 March 1849; CI1/04/4/5, 18-20 November 1846; CI1/0185/12 Long to Venn, 7 August 1845; CI1/0185/116 Long's Journal, 8 March 1849.

until April 1849, when the Calcutta Corresponding Committee approved of three new measures.[22] One was a plan, suggested by Long, for improving the efficiency of teachers employed in missionary English schools, by encouraging them to undertake privately an approved course of study and sit for periodical examinations. The other two proposals were for training Bengali teachers and preachers entirely through the vernacular. A new training institution was to be opened at Solo in Krishnagar and Long's offer to form a "preparandi" class at Thakurpukur, consisting of Bengali teachers and preachers from the villages south of Calcutta was accepted.

The two C.M.S. experiments in training Bengali agents through the vernacular, which were begun at about the same time and continued throughout the 1850's, differed in some important respects. At Solo, the missionary in charge, the Rev. Bomwetsch, worked mainly with boys, but at Thakurpukur Long worked entirely with adults who had already had some experience of missionary work.[23] At Solo the boys were boarded away from home

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22. C.M.S. CI1/M11 Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 23 April 1849.
23. C.M.R., Vol.XXII, December 1851, p.273; C.M.S. CI1/O185/25 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 1 June 1850; CI1/O185/129 Annual Report 1849.

in an institution and undertook full-time study and practical training, but at Thakurpukur those in training lived at home, continued working as missionary assistants for several days in the week and attended classes part-time in or near their own district.[24] Long was determined that their training should in no way alienate them from their simple village environment and former surroundings. "I act on the principle", he wrote, "that men trained for the villages must be trained in the villages."[25]

His classes at Thakurpukur were held on two or three days in the week and, when begun in 1849, were attended by six men and two women.[26] The syllabus not only included orthodox subjects such as Scripture, Philosophy and Church History, but also some Sanskrit and studies of Hinduism and Islam.[27] He believed that Sanskrit would, among other things, give his preachers an added status in the non-Christian community while their knowledge of non-Christian religions would enable them to play a more effective part in controversy with

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24. C.M.S. CI1/0185/25 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 1 June 1850; CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849.
25. C.M.S. CI1/0185/22 Long to Venn, 7 August 1849.
26. C.M.S. CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849.
27. ibid.; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1849, pp.351-352.

opponents.[28]

Long also placed considerable emphasis on the value of practical experience and on the ability of preachers and teachers to communicate their ideas effectively. In 1855 he himself gave up preaching to the Christian congregation and instead helped his preachers prepare two sermons weekly which they wrote out in full and then preached to the people.[29] This plan, wrote Long, "will give me more time for going among the Heathen, /and/ gradually train both teachers & people to be independent of European teaching."[30]

Like the Rev. Bomwetsch,[31] he took assistants with him when preaching in the villages. He trained them to follow his own distinctive method of illustrating the points of his preaching with parables and proverbs, as he believed this was an effective and typically Oriental method of communicating abstract ideas.[32] "Though my audiences are composed of persons scarcely one of whom can read or write", wrote Long, "yet I have been struck

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28. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1849, p.351 and March 1852, pp.97-99.
29. C.M.S. CI1/0185/134 Annual Report 1854-1855; CI1/0185/136 Annual Report 1856; C.M.R., vol.XXVIII, December 1857, p.354.
30. C.M.S. CI1/0185/134 Annual Report, 1854-1855.
31. Mrs. J. Weitbrecht Missionary Sketches in North India, pp.134-135.
32. Chapter IV, pp. 213-214.

with how their attention can be kept up by adopting the maxim of our Lord "without a parable spoke He not unto them"... Sometimes I sit down near a place abounding in thorns, then I take for my text — thorns the mark of the fall — at another time near a place infested with snakes, then I take as my subject the great serpent very old and how we may be cured of his poison... Villagers though ignorant of books know much of things and hence they are interested in such subjects. I find also, the interlarding preaching with Bengalee Proverbs in illustration has a good effect."[33] "The Readers I take with me", he wrote on another occasion when describing his preaching technique, "are able to carry this out as I have delivered during the year about 100 lectures in Bengali to them on the Emblems of Scripture and the analogy between Natural things and Spiritual things."[34]

Long also believed that Bengali preachers should be given some sort of physical training. "Natives here work well in one locality", he wrote in 1858, "but they very much dislike the fatigue and discomforts connected with walking to different places — they are 'strong in brain, but weak in the legs'. I therefore feel that

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33. C.M.S. CI1/0185/136 Annual Report 1858.
34. C.M.S. CI1/0185/135 Annual Report 1857.

for training men to be Evangelists physical training should hold, as it did in the old Persian Schools, an important place".[35] He encouraged his teachers at Thakurpukur to walk long distances and, in February 1861, took a party of his assistants with him to visit the Santal country, partly so that they would learn to live in difficult physical conditions.[36]

Although in the 1850's, Long worked at Thakurpukur on the principle of "Native agency under European superintendence"[37] and always assumed ultimate responsibility for the mission, nevertheless, he encouraged his assistants to take responsibility (in subordinate positions) and gave them the opportunity of developing their powers of leadership during his absence in Calcutta three or four days in the week.[38] "I have been satisfied with the success of the experiment of gradually accustoming the superior Native Assistants to the charge and responsibility of the Native flocks for periods more or less extended", he wrote in 1855. "To expect Natives to be trustworthy without any trust committed to them is to expect a boy to

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35. C.M.S. CI1/0185/136 Annual Report 1858.
36. C.M.S. CI1/0185/137 Annual Report 1860; CI1/0185/110 Long to Stuart, 5 February 1861.
37. C.M.R., vol.VII, (new series) November 1862, p.343.
38. C.M.S. CI1/0185/131 Annual Report 1852; CI1/0185/134 Annual Report 1854-1855.

swim without ever having gone into the water. Hence I am thankful", he added, "that circumstances did not require my permanent residence at Thakurpukur, as that would have rendered Native Catechists mere puppets, would have introduced among villagers expensive city habits, besides involving a European in matters of detail which would be much better settled by Natives."[39] In 1860, he expressed the hope that one of his catechists would eventually be ordained as a pastor for Thakurpukur, and explained that he was already carrying out satisfactorily "all the duties of a Missionary except administering the sacraments & marrying".[40]

Meanwhile, after showing some early signs of instability, the training school under the Rev. Bomwetsch was moved from its original site at Solo further south to Santipur[41] and appeared to be progressing satisfactorily. Visitors were impressed, there were favourable reports of examinations and Long himself felt that the experiment was

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39. C.M.S. CI1/0185/134 Annual Report 1854-1855.
40. C.M.S. CI1/0185/137 Annual Report 1860.
41. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/15 Bengal District Conference Report, 19-21 October 1853; C.M.R., vol.XXVII, September 1856, p.222; J.Weitbrecht Missionary Sketches in North India, p.133.

succeeding.[42] Yet in 1862, the whole scheme was completely abandoned. Bomwetsch's successor as Principal, the Rev. Stern, discovered that some of the students were involved in cheating and immorality and closed the institution.[43] The Calcutta Corresponding Committee were by no means satisfied with Stern's handling of the situation,[44] but, in any case, the missionaries decided that the principles on which the experiment had been based were unsound and that further attempts to train preachers and teachers through the vernacular in similar institutions would have to be abandoned. They declared that boys, such as those at Santipur, drawn from the lower classes and gratuitously maintained, developed neither self-respect nor a high tone of character, did not exhibit "deep religious attachment to the work of the Mission" and exercised little influence on those around. They argued that, in view of the popularity of English education, students of

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42. Weitbrecht Missionary Sketches, pp.132-139; C.M.R., vol.III (new series) October 1858, p.302; C.M.R., vol.VI (new series) November 1861, p.345; C.M.S. CI1/0185/36 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August 1856; CI1/0185/58 Long to Parent Committee, 8 April 1859.
43. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/28 Bengal District Conference Report, 21-23 October 1862; CI1/0270/9 Stern to Venn, 20 January 1862
44. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 9 January 1862.

the status required "cannot be induced to accept a purely vernacular education" and they suggested that the C.M.S. should establish a college in Calcutta which would provide a sound general education in English and train candidates for missionary work.[45] As the Rev. Stuart, Secretary of the Corresponding Committee, pointed out, they were reviving almost the same idea of a head theological seminary discussed at such length more than twenty years before.

In contrast to this, Long, who was apparently very satisfied with the character as well as the general progress of his assistants, claimed that his private experiment at Thakurpukur was succeeding;[46] and in 1856, the Rev. Bomwetsch (whom it should be noted was one of Long's closest friends) maintained that Long's system was "already declared an effective one".[47] Yet these claims were to some extent contradicted by the Rev. J. Vaughan who took charge of the Thakurpukur mission in 1862, during Long's absence in England. He implied in his annual letter[48] that, like other Christian

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45. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/28 Bengal District Conference Report, 21-23 October 1862.
46. C.M.R., vol.VII (new series) November 1862, p.343; C.M.S. CI1/0185/134 Annual Report 1854-1855.
47. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Bomwetsch to Sandys (probably August 1856.)
48. C.M.S. CI1/0299/38 Annual Letter 1862.

communities in Bengal, the community at Thakurpukur was still too dependent on European aid and superintendence and he stated that the Bengali agents there "are far from what I shd. wish to see". Nevertheless, after the closing of the Santipur training school, the C.M.S. missionaries not only proposed the opening of a new college in Calcutta, but also recommended the same kind of training scheme as the one Long developed at Thakurpukur — though they did not specifically mention Long's experiment. "It is the feeling of the Brethren", they declared, "that the private teaching, counsel, and example of a Missionary, or of different Missionaries with whom they may be, is better for the purpose [of training] than any formally established Institution. It is not impossible", they added, "that some one of the Brethren may be in a position hereafter to take a few such candidates to live for a time with himself for their more complete instruction in the Studies necessary for them."[49]

During this period, the Bengal Protestant missionaries made little progress towards the creation of self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending

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49. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/29 Bengal District Conference Report, 22 October 1863.

churches. In the first place, Bengalis were only very slowly promoted to positions of trust and responsibility in the missions and/or Bengali churches. In 1852 there were only two ordained Bengalis in the whole of Bengal compared with 130 catechists or lay preachers and ten years later, the number of ordained Bengalis had still only risen to a mere 17 when there were 189 lay preachers.[50]

Mission secretaries and outside observers were frequently struck with the lack of progress. The Rev. E.B. Underhill, Secretary of the B.M.S., who visited Bengal in 1855 and spoke at the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries, stated that from amongst converts had appeared "not a few men of eminence for their piety and gifts, who have wrought as successful evangelists, and ended their course with joy. The committees and directors of missionary societies inquire, Why are not such men pastors of the native churches? Why do they not release the missionary from the local cares which fill his hands?"[51] A Baptist deputation visiting northern India in 1852, noted the general unwillingness of missionaries connected with the Calcutta Missionary Conference to trust their Bengali assistants with greater

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50. J. Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India, p.79.
51. C.C.O., vol. XXIV, November 1855, p.533.

responsibility.[52] T.V. French, the first Bishop of Lahore, was particularly concerned with the situation in the C.M.S. mission. "I am sorry to say", he wrote in a letter to Venn in 1858, "that the practical working of the Ch.Miss: Society in N. India is greatly to the discouragement of a Native pastorate: there is no opening in the Missions for a man of ability & respectability: all are kept down to a prescribed level, and the more intelligent are not trained with that object. I feel it very deeply", he continued, "as it is manifestly an unnatural state of things: and tends to render the Mission Church despicable: and a miniature of the State where natives are kept (of necessity perhaps) from all offices of trust & responsibility; but which is contrary to the essence of the Christian Church".[53]

The main argument missionaries seem to have used against ordaining Bengalis and entrusting them with positions of responsibility was that they did not have a sufficiently developed "Christian character" and were not sufficiently qualified. The Baptist missionaries, for example, claimed that an efficient pastor needed,

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52. B.M.S. Sixteenth Annual Report, 1852, p.9.
53. C.M.S. CI1/M15 French to Venn, 24 May 1858. See also C.M.R., vol.XXV, December 1854, p.273.

amongst other things, "such a degree of moral courage to reprove sin — such a removal from the danger of exercising a petty tyranny by virtue of his office — such a freedom from party-spirit — such an acknowledged eminence amongst his people through the exhibition of Christian character, and the possession therefore of moral influence, that few, if any, of our brethren have commended themselves as qualified, both mentally and morally, to stand forth apart from the European Missionary, as the leaders of their people".[54] The Rev. Hasell of the C.M.S. argued that there were few men in Bengal who could "with propriety" be proposed as candidates for ordination.[55] The Rev. Bomwetsch, also of the C.M.S., maintained that Bengali pastors completely independent of Europeans "would not be able to hold our hot-house congregations together"[56] and the Rev. Lacroix of the L.M.S., discussing the slow development of Bengali churches, declared that "hitherto very few of our native preachers have commanded the general respect of the Christian community, amongst whom there are many jealousies. If we can find men to be pastors of the churches", he added, "then the sooner they are ordained,

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54. Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries of Bengal, (1855) p.41.
55. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Hasell to Sandys, 25 August 1856.
56. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Bomwetsch to Sandys (no date).

the better.[57]

It is quite possible that many Bengali preachers were poorly qualified: how could they be otherwise when societies like the C.M.S. did not provide adequate training facilities?[58] And some of the complaints about the character of converts may have been justified; but one wonders how far the missionaries complained because converts failed to measure up to Evangelical moral standards and develop attributes more closely connected with the European way of life than with Christianity itself. Furthermore, even though many lay preachers may have been unworthy of promotion and/or ordination, it is true, nevertheless, that there were others who, in spite of high qualifications and admirable qualities, were never admitted to holy orders or to important positions in the church or mission.

It was surely remarkable, as the editor of the Church Missionary Record pointed out in 1854, that in the whole of the C.M.S. North India mission, for example, there was not one ordained Bengali assistant. "Surely, from amongst the eighty-one catechists and readers in this Mission", he wrote, "some might be found, who from their piety, scriptural knowledge, and experience in

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57. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, p.535.
58. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, September 1849, p.421.

teaching, would prove, after a course of special instruction, suitable candidates for ordination to the native pastorate."[59] Speaking of Bengal missions in general, the Rev. Mullens admitted that "there has been a large number of catechists, of whom many have lived a most useful life and left behind them an honoured name",[60] and individual missionaries sometimes recognised outstanding qualities in the Bengali preachers under their supervision. In 1846 Dr. Duff, referring to two of his catechists, wrote of "their soundness of faith and warmth of piety, their consolidated firmness and cohesion of character, their maturity of judgment, their ripeness of experience, their accumulated stores of knowledge digested into practical wisdom",[61] and, in 1853, Long stated that his head catechist at Thakurpukur "has discharged his duties most efficiently and though having little book knowledge yet his knowledge of Native character and the Bible has rendered him a most useful agent".[62] And yet none of these agents was ever ordained.

It seems clear then that some Bengali preachers were kept in subordinate positions not because of doubts

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59. C.M.R., vol.XXV, December 1854, p.273.
60. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, October 1855, p.443.
61. C. of S. MSS. Duff to Gordon, 2 May 1846.
62. C.M.S. CI1/O185/132 Annual Report 1853.

about their qualifications and character, but for some other consideration. One such consideration was the question of salaries and finance. It was generally recognized that after ordination Bengalis should receive higher salaries[63] and this understanding seems sometimes to have limited the number recommended for ordination. In 1856, for example, the Rev. Cuthbert explained that the missionaries' decision about salaries for ordained men "may perhaps a good deal affect the numbers of candidates which some up-country Brethren intend proposing at one or two ordinations, expected to be held during the next cold weather".[64] Some of the missionaries did not want ordained Bengalis for the time being as this, they believed, involved the creation of an expensive ministry which rural congregations could not possibly support. Long stated, for example, that Bengalis should be ordained "only when they are appointed to a Church which would contribute to the chief part of their support".[65] The Rev. Sandys warned that no system should be introduced "which the Natives themselves will not be able to maintain",[66] and the Rev. Schurr declared that "If our Socy had congregations with independent

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63. C.C.O., vol.XXV, November 1856, pp.501-502.
64. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Cuthbert to Sandys, 1 August 1856.
65. C.M.S. CI1/O185/36 Long to Parent Committee, 26 August 1856,
66. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Sandys to Cuthbert, 26 September 1856.

incomes, I would at once recommend Native Pastors for them, but as far as I know, there is no such income..."[67]

It was also argued during this period that, for some unexplained reason, Bengalis could play a more important part as lay preachers and teachers than they could as ordained men.[68] But this point, put forward by C.M.S. missionaries in particular, is not easy to accept. In 1854, there were, for example, more than 7,000 Christians connected with the C.M.S. in North India, and yet, because the Society had no ordained Bengali agents, it had no one, other than European missionaries, entitled to administer sacraments and carry out all duties connected with the pastoral oversight of Bengali congregations.[69]

While these and other arguments put forward by missionaries against admitting Bengalis to important offices in church or mission are by no means always convincing, it is also apparent that those Bengalis who were eventually ordained or promoted in some other way were still not treated as equals by the European missionaries who continued to keep them in strict control and subordination. Writing in 1849, the Rev. Wenger

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67. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Schurr to Sandys, 26 August 1856.
68. C.M.S. CI1/M14 Geidt to Sandys, 12 August 1856; Blumhardt to Sandys, 19 August 1856; Lincke to Sandys (no date).
69. C.M.R., vol.XXV, December 1854, p.273.

argued that "We...ought soon to have native pastors who shall be as independent in their actions as European pastors are. At present", he added, "there are few, if any, who are allowed to act with anything like real independence".[70] The Rev. Underhill, Secretary of the B.M.S., writing many years later, but referring to this period, stated that "it came to be held as an incontrovertible maxim that a native preacher or pastor ought to work in entire subordination to his European guide. The discipline of the churches was carefully kept in the missionaries' hands".[71]

Bengalis ordained for missionary work could not even be sure of admission to the same councils or conferences attended by their European colleagues. The situation in the Free Church of Scotland Mission in 1855 was described by the Rev. Lal Behari Day in his Recollections of Alexander Duff.[72] "Jagadishwar, Prasanna, and I expected that, after our ordination", he wrote, "we should, agreeably to the principle of Presbyterian parity, be placed on a footing of equality

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70. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, August 1849, pp.364-5.
71. E.B. Underhill The Life of the Rev. John Wenger, p.214.
72. Lal Behari Day Recollections of Alexander Duff and the Mission College which he founded in Calcutta, pp.211-215. See also G. Macpherson Life of Lal Behari Day, Convert, Pastor, Professor and Author, Edinburgh 1900, pp.70-71.

with the European missionaries, especially with the newly-arrived missionaries; not as regards salary... but as regards ecclesiastical status and position in the Mission". However, they were not made members of the Mission Council which managed the mission's affairs and was composed of all the European missionaries of the Free Church. They stated their readiness to live under the guidance and direction of the older missionaries, but explained that it was "a hard thing to see new missionaries, who were our juniors in ecclesiastical standing, made members of the Mission Council and ourselves excluded". Dr. Duff refused to give way, Lal Behari Day threatened to resign, but eventually it was agreed that he should take charge of the Free Church of Scotland Mission at Culna, north of Calcutta, where he was given complete freedom and independence.

As the Rev. Stuart suggested, some of the European missionaries so determined to keep Bengalis in strict subordination may have been motivated by "an unconscious love of power."[73] The Rev. Bomwetsch writing on the question of ordination in 1856 displayed what was perhaps a certain professional jealousy. He explained how a Bengali catechist might eventually become an ordained

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73. Quoted in Stock, vol.II, p.418.

pastor over a Bengali congregation and then added that "by this means we might show our Native converts that we do not want wilfully & from envy, as they plainly say to withhold Holy Orders (honor, money & ease) from them, but that we are anxious to secure fellow-laborers, but by no means fellow-gentlemen fellow-masters & fellow-superintendents".[74] But the unwillingness of some European missionaries to trust Bengali character perhaps also betrays a belief in their own inherent superiority and suggests that missionaries were not entirely free from the racial attitudes current among other Europeans in Bengal in the 1850's. "I fear that modern Missionaries are less familiar and friendly with Natives than those of former days," wrote Long in 1859. "Sometimes Missionary's wives dont like "black men to be soiling their carpets" — We must beware of adopting a similar process of alienation with that of European officers towards Native officers in Sepoy regiments."[75]

This tendency among missionaries to keep even the most senior Bengali agents in strict control and subordination had at least two important results. It probably hindered the development of initiative and

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74. C.M.S. CI1/M4 Bomwetsch to Sandys [1856?].
75. C.M.S. CI1/O185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859.

self-reliance among Bengali pastors and preachers — fostering the sort of characteristics the missionaries themselves so frequently deplored —and, secondly, it stirred up among Bengalis feelings of frustration, discontent and resentment against the missionaries. In fact, the relation between European missionaries and Bengali agents was, in the 1850's, causing serious concern. Even in 1846, Long noted in his journal that he could perceive "a considerable feeling of alienation between catechists and Missionaries".[76] If anything, these feelings intensified in the years that followed, and writing in 1859, Long again drew attention to the seriousness of the situation. "Calcutta experience has shown", he wrote, "that Educated Native Christians do not work in harmony with European Missionaries (there are faults on <u>both</u> sides...)"[77]

Feelings among Bengali preachers are to some extent reflected in the remarks of the Rev. Surjo Kumar Ghose at a conference of L.M.S. missionaries in 1863. "Ordination confers rights, in as much as no one receives

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76. C.M.S. CI1/0185/115 Long's Journal, 13 April 1846.
77. C.M.S. CI1/0185/63 Long to Parent Committee, 8 November 1859. See also C.M.S.CI1/0185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859; CI1/0185/120 Long's Journal, 25 February and 4 April 1866; CI1/0185/121 Long's Journal, 16 May 1866; CI1/M14 Lincké to Sandys (no date); <u>Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S.</u> (1863), Storrow, p.42.

reports from us as formerly", he said. "We are members of this Conference as a right. With the exception of purely English work, in all other matters connected with the operations of the mission, we should be equal with European missionaries. People cannot feel an interest in matters in which they have not an active share...", he added. "If we are allowed to go on as we do now, we cannot possibly feel that sympathy and interest in the mission that we otherwise should do. What I have said, is not in the way of complaint, but as a statement of our feelings".[78]

The missionaries paid a great deal of attention during this period to the question of self-support as well as to the problems involved in creating an indigenous ministry. Missionary societies, like the C.M.S., partly in order to reduce expenditure,[79] stressed the need for making the churches financially more independent. In the Rev. Underhill's opinion they were already absorbing a great deal of money which could be spent on

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78. Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. (1863) p.43.
79. J. Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour, p.85; C.M.S. CI1/04/4/18 Bengal District Conference Report, 10 September 1855.

evangelism.[80] Moreover, some of the missionaries realized that the question of self-support impinged on the question of self-government and, as the Rev. Wenger pointed out, so long as Bengali pastors' salaries were paid by missionary societies, it could be doubted whether they would ever become truly independent. "Support", he wrote, "gives the right of control".[81]

But in the field of self-support the missionaries again made very little progress. In 1855, the Rev. Mullens, speaking at the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries, referring to Bengal Protestant missions in general, stated that "we have not yet one church really supporting its own pastor".[82]

The difficulties in the way of encouraging self-support were immense. One obstacle was the poverty of the Christian population.[83] The great majority of

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80. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, p.531. In 1862 the Rev. Vaughan of the C.M.S. argued that, by spending money on food and clothing for converts, missionaries of his Society were, in fact, misappropriating money given by its supporters for the preaching of the Gospel. /C.M.S. CI1/0299/37 Annual Letter 1862/.
81. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, August 1849, p.365.
82. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, October 1855, p.443.
83. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, October 1849,p.466; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. (1863) pp.52-53; C.C.O., vol.XVIII, August 1849, pp.354-355; Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries (1855) p.43.

Christians were ryots living in humble circumstances. Very few wealthy Bengalis were converted and some of the wealthier people who did become Christians were, as a result, deprived of all their property.

Another serious obstacle was the unwillingness of Christian congregations to pay for a pastor and for other expenses connected with the local church.[84] For years missionaries had been providing converts and their children with food and clothing and even with jobs.[85] One Bengali Christian writing in the Calcutta Christian Observer argued that they had come to think of this support and assistance almost as a right and a similar assertion was made by the Rev. Vaughan of the C.M.S.[86] "What was granted in the light of charity & favor", he wrote, "was viewed by the recipients as their right & due, & any attempt to withhold or curtail was regarded as gross injustice & cruelty". And after years of receiving, the Christian converts were then expected to change direction completely and start giving. Naturally enough, no such revolution could take place quickly or

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84. Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. (1863) pp.52-53.
85. ibid.
86. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, September 1849, p.419; C.M.S. CI1/0299/37 Annual Letter 1862.

without creating tension between the European missionary and his congregation.[87] Long, like some of the other missionaries, was beginning to perceive the implications of earlier mistakes. "I fear there is too much truth in what an intelligent Native Christian said publicly some time ago", he wrote,"'European Missionaries have spoiled the Native Churches,' — I have heard the same sentiment however echoed by Members of Missionary Deputations to India", he continued, "I have an illustration of this in my village vernacular schools, before I took them up the boys paid their teachers 3 or 4 rupis a month, now as I have adopted them I cannot realise more than 8 annas in fees — the boys say it is the Sahib's school and we cannot make the same exertion as when they were our own!"[88]

This kind of experience convinced Long and others too, that if European missionaries were removed from the care of Christian congregations and replaced by Bengali pastors it would stimulate renewed effort and a greater sense of responsibility.[89]

Difficulties in achieving self-support may, of

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87. C.M.S. CI1/0299/37 Annual Letter 1862.
88. C.M.S. CI1/0185/136 Annual Report 1858.
89. ibid.; Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. (1863) p.43.

course, have been increased by the high scale of expenditure. Christian converts may have been expected to pay more in support of Christianity than they were previously paying in support of Hinduism or their former religion[90] — though this is a matter for further investigation. Yet missionaries, as already mentioned, were acutely aware of the need for developing an inexpensive form of Christian ministry and a system which Bengalis would be able to support. "If in the erection of places of worship and schoolrooms, and in the salaries of native preachers and teachers, in short, in the whole pecuniary management of native churches", warned the Rev.Wenger, "we adopt a scale of expenditure higher than that which the native churches, when left to themselves, will be able to adopt, we shall inflict an incalculable injury upon them."[91] The Calcutta Missionary Conference declared that the salaries of Bengali ministers ought to be regulated "with direct and exclusive reference to the current rate of wages, the value of money, the standard of livelihood, or the scale of income, prevalent among those sections of the native community that enjoy the benefit of their labours".[92]

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90. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, September 1849, p.424.
91. C.C.O., vol.XVIII, August 1849, pp.359-360.
92. C.C.O., vol.XXV, November 1856, p.499.

and, as has already been suggested, the opposition of some missionaries to the ordination of Bengali pastors was conditioned partly by the belief that Christian congregations could not afford to pay the extra expenses involved.

Judging from missionary correspondence, conference reports and periodical literature, missionaries were not nearly so concerned with the problem of creating self-extending churches, as they were either with the training of Bengali preachers and pastors or with the problem of self-support. The very idea of self-extending or self-propagating churches contradicted the notion that church and mission were separate things. Henry Venn himself helped to emphasize the distinction in the mission field between the missionary society on the one hand and the indigenous churches on the other,[93] and this distinction was upheld, not only by missionaries of the C.M.S., but by missionaries of other Protestant denominations as well. "The work of introducing the gospel into new districts, and of awakening the mass of the people throughout the country, must rest with the Missionaries, and with those who labour with them as preachers to the heathen", declared the Baptists. "Between the duties of these

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93. Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers, 1851.

assistants in Mission labour and those of pastors of churches, and therefore between the acquirements needed by them respectively, there is a difference...we would recognize and maintain a distinction."[94] Thus it appears that in some cases pastors were discouraged from taking part in evangelism, and so long as this was the case, Christians under their supervision who were likely to be influenced by their example, could not be blamed for failing to evangelise their non-Christian neighbours.

But perhaps an even greater hindrance to the development of self-extending churches was the missionaries' distrust of any type of evangelism conducted outside of their own control. On one occasion, in 1860, Long referred to an indigenous movement in Benares in favour of Christianity and expressed the hope that in Bengal "God may some day raise a man up among the people quite unconnected with Missionaries who may like another Luther wake up the Hindu mind to its depths".[95] But it may be doubted whether the majority of missionaries had such faith in indigenous movements independent of missionary direction and supervision. They were so cautious and hesitant, so preoccupied with

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94. Minutes and Reports of a Conference of the Baptist Missionaries (1855) p.43.
95. C.M.S. CI1/O185/68 Long to Parent Committee, 19 July 1860.

orthodoxy and "good order" that some of them complained if a Bengali pastor baptized his converts and admitted them to Church fellowship, without first referring the case to the presiding missionary.[96] They were perhaps almost afraid of what Roland Allen has called the "spontaneous expansion"[97] of the church.

Finally, what type of church did the missionaries envisage? They generally seem to have thought in terms of the situation in Europe and, in spite of the co-operation and fellow feeling between the Evangelical missionaries in particular, there was little, if any attempt to prevent the growth of sectarian divisions. The missionaries continued to think along strictly denominational lines and, even those connected with the L.M.S., which was more ecumenical in its origin than the other missionary societies in Britain, came out strongly in favour of perpetuating their own particular interpretation of Christianity. "While they would exhibit in all their dealings with brethren of other Churches around them in full degree the catholic spirit which has ever marked the operations of the Society," they said, "they think it right to take all fitting

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96. E.B. Underhill The Life of the Rev. John Wenger, p.214.
97. Roland Allen The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the causes which hinder it, London, New York etc. (second ed.), 1949.

opportunity for exhibiting their principles as Congregationalists, of increasing the number of Congregational Churches, and otherwise advancing the interests of the denomination with which they are all connected".[98]

Long, as a convinced member of the Anglican Church, taught his preachers and teachers at Thakurpukur from the Prayer Book and recommended the "Thirty Nine Articles with Scripture Proofs" for study by prospective candidates for ordination.[99] Yet the longer he remained in India the more he became convinced that the Bengali Church should develop into something distinctly different from what he described as "the Anglo-Saxon Model". Many of the affairs of the Christian community at Thakurpukur were settled by the typically Indian "panchayat".[100] He found it necessary to change or deviate from some of the authorized forms of worship[101] and, as has already been seen, he insisted that preachers should "cast their Christian ideas into an Oriental mould" and "address their countrymen in a way adapted

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98. Proceedings of a Conference of the Missionaries of the L.M.S. (1863) p.33.
99. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, July 1849, p.351; C.M.S. CI1/0185/60 Long to Cotton, 1 June 1859.
100. C.M.S. CI1/M15 Annual Report 1861.
101. "In my own work", he wrote, "I am obliged to vary in diverse points from Canons, rubrics, and English Analogies." /C.M.S. CI1/M15 Long to Venn, 17 July 1858./

to the Native Mind".[102] But although he himself had some definite ideas about how to make the Church more truly Oriental he felt, nevertheless, that this was essentially a task for Indians themselves. He argued, for example, that Bengali pastors should be appointed partly because they would know how to do many things "in a cheaper and more direct way than we European Missionaries, who think (not I) the Anglo-Saxon Model the best mould for a Native Church", and in 1860, he claimed in no uncertain terms that "Anglo-Saxon" Bishops would never be able to understand the needs and meet the difficulties of Oriental Christianity in India.[103] And, like Henry Venn, he looked forward to the eventual disappearance of <u>European</u> missions in India. "The longer I live in India", he wrote, "the more I feel it is true that all our Missionary plans are mere scaffolding which has to be taken down after a time".[104]

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102. C.M.S. CI1/0185/129 Annual Report 1849; C.M.S. CI1/0185/135 Annual Report 1857.
103. C.M.S. CI1/0185/69 Long to Parent Committee, 22 August 1860; C.M.S. CI1/0185/136 Annual Report 1858; CI1/0185/137 Annual Report 1860.
104. C.M.S. CI1/0185/79 Long to Venn, 22 November 1861.

CHAPTER IV

Vernacular Literature, Intellectual and Social Activities, 1850 - 1861

Long clearly realized that if Christian and Western ideas were ever to be fully understood and appreciated by the great mass of the population, the Bengali language needed to be developed still further as an effective medium of communication. "There are thirty-five millions of people knowing only Bengali", he said, "whose views of Christianity can be gained only through the medium of their mother-tongue".[1]

But, in 1850, Bengali was still neglected by many of those who might have done a great deal to develop its potentialities. In some quarters there was still strong prejudice against it. The formation of the Vernacular Translation Committee in Calcutta in 1851, for example, was opposed by Europeans who argued that translations into the vernacular were absurd "because they cannot transfuse all the shades of thought in the original", that Bengali was "the rude tongue of a semi-barbarous race", and that translations should be abandoned and the people taught

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1. C.C.O., vol..XXIV, December 1855, p.541.

through English alone.[2] But from Long's point of view, the attitude of educated Bengalis towards their own language was perhaps even more distressing. "The educated native generally despises, through ignorance, his own language", said Long in 1855, "his conversation, reading and teaching is all through English, as it was last century through Persian, and six centuries ago through Sanskrit".[3] In Long's opinion English education not only failed to enrich the Bengali language, but helped to denationalize the educated classes and chill their enthusiasm for their own language.[4]

He hoped to meet and overcome some of this prejudice against Bengali, amongst both Europeans and Bengalis, by publishing various lists and catalogues which would show (among other things) that a large number of useful books were already being published in the vernacular. On several occasions in the 1850's he investigated the activity of the vernacular press.[5] In April 1853, for example, the Government of Bengal requested police officers in several areas under its jurisdiction to

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2. Calcutta Review, No.XXXII, December 1851, p.V.
3. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, December 1855, p.548.
4. ibid.; C.M.S. CI1/0185/33 Long to Venn, 18 August 1854; CI1/0185/35 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 8 August 1855.
5. Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No.XXII, 1855, pp.87-89; No.XXXII, 1859, p.LII.

obtain returns of the vernacular presses in their respective districts and of publications which had been issued by them.[6] As a result of correspondence with the Government, through the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, Long agreed to make inquiries in and around the city and, in 1855, the Government published his Return of the Names and Writings of 515 persons connected with Bengali Literature either as authors or translators of printed works chiefly during the last fifty years and a Catalogue of Bengali Newspapers and Periodicals which have issued from the press from the year 1818 to 1855.[7] In the same year (1855) Long also published a catalogue of Bengali books[8] which he hoped would be a reply to those "who would cast aside all Bengali books with the sobriquet applied of 'filthy trash'."[9]

This catalogue was favourably reviewed in the Friend of India. It seems to have encouraged the idea Long was trying to develop through the example of his own schools at Thakurpukur — that a sound education could be given entirely through the vernacular language. "The ground

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6. Selections, No.XXII, p.85.
7. Selections, No.XXII, pp.121-148.
8. A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works containing a classified list of Fourteen Hundred Bengali Books and Pamphlets, Calcutta 1855.
9. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, December 1855, p.543.

on which the opponents of vernacular and national education have hitherto taken their stand has been, that the Bengalee language was so rude and uncultivated, that it was impossible to adopt it as an instrument of national instruction", wrote the editor of the Friend of India. "That objection has been at once disposed of by the catalogue of works in the various branches of knowledge which Mr. Long has just published, and which we reviewed last week. Any native who has studied and mastered the books in grammar, history, geography, arithmetic, and mental and natural philosophy mentioned in that list, will be found to possess as large a stock of useful knowledge as nine-tenths of the youths who attend our English institutions, and leave them with little beyond a smattering of learning".[10]

The influence of Long's activities at Thakurpukur, together with the effect of his publications in 1855, on the attitude of C.M.S. officials in Salisbury Square is reflected in a letter he received from J. Chapman, one of the C.M.S. Secretaries. "Your happy success in communicating instruction through the medium of the native language", wrote Chapman,"has been quoted over & over again during the last year both in public & in

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10. Friend of India, 14 June 1855.

private; & the notice taken of your efforts in the Friend of India has attracted general attention...It has been often doubted whether any really valuable amount of useful knowledge could be communicated on general subjects in the languages of India at their present stage of development. You have demonstrated that they may be the means of conveying information on any subject to an extent sufficient for all the ordinary purposes of life; and there can be no doubt but that with a little cultivation they may be as well fitted as the languages of Europe for embodying scientific discoveries, as well as more simple points of history & religion."[11]

In Long's opinion this optimism was completely justified. A few years later he claimed that the plan of conveying scientific knowledge through the vernaculars (once thought visionary) had already succeeded. "I gave a course of lectures for two years on the indigenous plants of Bengal..." he wrote. "The elements of botany also formed another course... These were tests of the capabilities of the vernacular, for I had to draw all my terms from indigenous sources, and from Sanskrit."[12] He frequently reminded Europeans that Bengali was in fact

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11. C.M.S. CI1/I Chapman to Long, 1 October 1855.
12. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Annual Report 1861.

capable of communicating a whole range of European ideas[13] and, in correspondence with Bishop Cotton, argued that it had even become capable of being made the vehicle of conveying "a course of sound theological instruction".[14]

But Long was also anxious to break down Bengali prejudice against the vernaculars. At meetings and in discussion he reminded educated Bengalis in Calcutta of the immense importance of paying attention to their mother tongue,[15] and, in May 1859, persuaded members of the Family Literary Club to alter the rule declaring English to be the only language permissible at meetings. "Whatever our attainments be in a foreign tongue", Long is reported to have said,"our usefulness in society must ultimately depend on our proficiency in our own Vernacular".[16] He also urged Bengalis to study Sanskrit literature — not only because he believed it was well worth reading, but also because Sanskrit could be used to enrich and develop the Bengali language. "It is generally admitted now", he said, "that a knowledge of

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13. C.M.S. CI1/0185/132 Annual Report 1853; Calcutta Review, No.LXIV, June 1859, p.285.
14. C.M.S. CI1/0185/60 Long to Cotton, 1 June 1859.
15. C.M.S. CI1/0185/58 Long to Parent Committee, 8 April 1859; Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club with the Anniversary Address by the Rev. J. Long, Calcutta 1860.
16. Second Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club, Calcutta 1859, p.5.

Sanskrit would be of great value in enabling a man to translate or compose in Bengali with fluency and idiomatic power. All technical terms have to be taken from the Sanskrit, and above all, Sanskrit writings present an unbounded field of imagery and local illustration so valuable for transference into the Vernaculars."[17]

In the late 1850's Long was a member of the Calcutta School Book Society[18] which published vernacular as well as English language text books and, in about 1852, soon after its foundation, he became a member of the Vernacular Translation Committee.[19] Its object was to "publish translations of such works as are not included in the design of the Tract or Christian Knowledge Societies on the one hand, or of the School Book and Asiatic Societies on the other, and likewise to provide a sound Vernacular Domestic Literature for Bengal."[20] The Committee soon became one of the most important agencies in Bengal for encouraging vernacular literature.[21]

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17. Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club etc., pp.11-13.
18. A.G. Roussac New Calcutta Directory, Part VI, 1857, p.49; 1858, p.60; 1861, p.31.
19. First Report of the Vernacular Literature Committee, Calcutta 1852.
20. ibid.
21. Calcutta Review, No.LXVIII, June 1860, p.LXXX.

At first, most of its members were Europeans — many of these being Government officials.[22] It was supported financially by voluntary contributions and, like the Calcutta School Book Society, received a Government grant.[23] In the first ten years of its life, the Committee published translations of over 40 works of a light and popular character, including Robinson Crusoe, Lamb's Tales of Shakespeare and several biographies of general interest;[24] but it was not merely concerned with translation and, after 1856, began publishing original works.[25] The Committee also established a monthly periodical, the Bibidhartha Sangraha, or Bengali Penny Magazine, which soon reached a circulation of 1,200 copies. Each number was illustrated with plates and contained a wide variety of articles on useful and popular subjects such as science, trade and manufacture, biography, history, geography and customs.[26]

But Long was convinced that the Government as well

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22. Friend of India, 19 December 1860; First Report of the Vernacular Literature Committee, Calcutta 1852; Report of the Vernacular Literature Committee for 1854-1855.
23. Government of Bengal, Education Proceedings, April 1861, No.59 and January 1862, No.15.
24. Report of the Transactions of the Vernacular Literature Society, 1 January 1860 - 30 June 1861, Calcutta 1861, Appendix A-D.
25. N. S. Bose The Indian Awakening and Bengal, p.222.
26. Selections, No.XXXII, pp.LIV, XLIII - XLIV.

as voluntary societies should encourage the growth and development of sound vernacular literature.[27] He was partly responsible for procuring Government financial support for the Bengalee Education Gazette,[28] established in 1856 by Hodgson Pratt, the Inspector of Schools for South Bengal. The Gazette, "an organ of the Education Department", was designed to encourage healthier tastes in reading and was edited by the Rev. W.O'B.Smith, an accomplished Bengali scholar of the S.P.G..[29] It advertised positions for teachers and contained educational notifications, together with a summary of general news, articles on science, biography and history and editorial correspondence.[30]

Long was, however, able to render an even greater service to vernacular literature through his contact with members of the Legislative Council. Like some European laymen and other missionaries he was dismayed by the moral tone of many of the publications issuing from the vernacular press and, in 1855, he persuaded the Legislative Council to adopt some measures of

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27. Selections, No. XXXII, pp.I, II.
28. Friend of India, 27 June 1861.
29. Government of Bengal, Education Proceedings, August 1860, No. 27.
30. Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No.XXXII, Calcutta 1859, pp.IV and V.

control.[31] At his suggestion, C.Allen, the Member for Bengal, introduced a Bill into the Council in July 1855 "to prevent the public sale or exposure of obscene books and pictures." Allen explained that the sale of obscene literature was extremely common and added that "a Reverend Gentleman" had calculated that in Calcutta alone 40,000 copies of such books were sold annually. He pointed out that the police had no authority to deal with the situation and that it would not be sufficient to restrict the provisions of the Bill to Calcutta alone. He stated that "the Reverend Gentleman...had informed him that he had found men offering books of this class for sale in Kishnagur". The Bill, which made offenders liable to a fine not exceeding 100 rupees or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months, or both, was referred to a Select Committee of three and was finally passed by the Legislative Council after a third reading in December 1855.[32]

While it appears that few, if any, of the other Protestant missionaries in Bengal were as active as Long

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31. C.M.S. CI1/0185/35 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 8 August 1855; C.C.O., vol.XXIV, December 1855, p.542; Friend of India, 27 June 1861.
32. For details concerning this Bill see Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India, 20 May 1854 to 22 December 1855, vol.I, Calcutta 1856, sections 582-586, 597, 719, 818,848, 878.

in schemes for encouraging the general development of Bengali language and literature, many of them were connected with projects for creating a specifically Christian literature.[33] New translations of the Bible were required as the Bengali language developed and, in spite of the work done by earlier Christian missionaries, a more extensive and varied range of literature was still needed for non-Christian and Christian readers. "Christian truths and principles have to be explained and illustrated", wrote the Rev. Storrow, "Hinduism has to be refuted, and its customs exposed...modern infidelity has to be met and vanquished".[34] Bengali Christian preachers and teachers needed theological literature, including Bible commentaries, doctrinal discourses and books of sermons; converts required prayer books, hymnals and Christian literature of general interest; schools needed text books written from a Christian point of view.

Long frequently referred to the necessity for increased efforts in the creation of vernacular Christian

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33. Selections, No.XXII, pp.121-148.
34. E. Storrow India and Christian Missions, London 1859, pp.48-49.

literature.[35] In 1855, when addressing the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries, he claimed that Christians exercised very little influence over publications issuing from the vernacular press and he pointed out that the need for Christian literature would expand with the spread of education.[36] He hoped that his own works, listing and describing vernacular publications, would show how active non-Christians were in the creation of vernacular literature and how much more Christian literature was still required.[37] He was, it appears, moderately successful in creating a new awareness among some Europeans of existing deficiencies. The editor of the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, for example, stated that Long's catalogue of Bengali books would stimulate Christians to exert themselves more effectively than ever,[38] and Long's figures on vernacular publications were sometimes quoted. The editor of the Bengal Hurkaru, reviewing Long's returns of vernacular

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35. C.M.S. CI1/0185/32 Long to Parent Committee, July 1854; CI1/0185/34 Long to Parent Committee, 2 June 1855; CI1/0185/58 Long to Parent Committee, 8 April 1859; CI1/0185/68 Long to Parent Committee, 19 July 1860; CI1/0185/137 Annual Report 1860; M.M.S.MSS.Mysore, 1858-1874, Long to Arthur, 21 February 1860.
36. C.C.O., vol XXIV, December 1855, pp.541-542.
37. C.M.S. CI1/M13 Cuthbert to Sec. of C.M.S., 2 June 1855; CI1/0185/34 Long to Parent Committee, 2 June 1855.
38. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, October 1855, p.293.

publications for 1857, noted that "only 9,550 copies of Christian books were printed for sale in 1857, or less than 2 per cent of the whole number of books printed for the year, showing", he added, "that very little has yet been done towards rooting in the soil a Christian Vernacular Literature".[39] The editor of the Church Missionary Record published by the C.M.S. in England, also referred to these statistics and made similar comments.[40]

In the 1850's, Bible translation was still an important aspect of Protestant missionary literary activity. Like many of his colleagues, Long was a member of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. This organization, which was founded in 1811, was affiliated with the British and Foreign Bible Society in England. Its object was the translation and circulation of the Scriptures(without comment) in Bengali and other vernacular languages.[41] Bishop Wilson was patron of the Society for many years until his death in 1858, and the important position of Secretary was held by Judge

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39. Bengal Hurkaru, 1 June 1860.
40. C.M.R., Vol.V, new series, December 1860,p.279. See also J. Mullens Ten Years' Missionary Labour, p.168.
41. W. Canton History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol.II, London 1904, p.351; A.G. Roussac New Calcutta Directory, 1861, Part VI, p.3.

Wylie, from 1846 until 1854, and then by the Rev. J.C. Herdman of the Free Church of Scotland until 1861.[42]

The most impressive new translation published by the Society during this period — a new version of the Bengali New Testament — was commenced, rather ironically, as a direct result of the rivalry between the High Church (Tractarian) S.P.G. missionaries on the one hand and the Evangelical missionaries on the other. In the late 1840's, the Society was printing and circulating the Baptist version of the New Testament translated jointly by Dr. Yates and the Rev. J. Wenger of the B.M.S. — but with their translation of the terms relating to baptism altered so as to be acceptable to the missionaries of the other Protestant denominations.[43] However, in 1849, the High Church Anglicans, connected with the S.P.G. and headed by Professor Street of Bishop's College, sent out a circular addressed to all Bengal missionaries claiming that various passages in the translation printed by the Bible Society interfered with the doctrines of the Church of England, were paraphrastic and otherwise unfaithful.[44]

As Yates had died some years earlier, it was left to

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42. Canton, Vol.II, pp.351, 361-362; Vol.III, pp.370, 380-1.
43. C.C.O., Vol.XVIII, December 1849, p.558.
44. E.B. Underhill The Life of the Rev. John Wenger, London 1886, pp.132-3.

Wenger to defend the Baptist version. He replied to criticism in articles in the Calcutta Christian Observer,[45] but this apparently failed to satisfy the S.P.G. critics who then considered the idea of a new translation of their own, which they hoped might eventually, with the Bishop's permission, be introduced into all Anglican missions.[46] This proposal frightened the missionaries of the C.M.S. As Anglicans they were not particularly satisfied with the Baptist version,[47] but as Evangelicals they were even more alarmed at the prospect of having to adopt a version influenced by Tractarian principles.[48] They therefore suggested to the Bible Society that it should consider adopting a new translation of the Bible undertaken by C.M.S. missionaries. The Bible Society, which could not afford to offend Anglican supporters, had already set up a sub-committee consisting of the Revs.Ewart (F.C. of S.), Lacroix (L.M.S.), Mundy (B.M.S.) and Long to consider the S.P.G. criticisms of the Baptist version.[49] They agreed with the C.M.S. proposal and it was finally decided that

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45. C.C.O., Vol.XVIII, December 1849, PP.557-574; Vol. XIX, January 1850, pp.25-41.
46. Underhill, p.134.
47. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/9 Bengal District Conference Report, 31 October 1849.
48. Underhill, p.134.
49. British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Report, Vol.XVI, 47th Report, 1851, p.LXXVIII.

the Krishnagar C.M.S. missionaries would undertake translations of St. John's Gospel and the Epistle to the Galatians on the understanding that, if these specimens proved satisfactory, the Bible Society would accept and print as its own version a complete C.M.S. translation of the New Testament.[50]

In the meantime, however, the Rev.Wenger commenced another translation of the New Testament in the hope that this would induce the Bible Society to retain the Baptist version.[51] Eventually his new translation, together with the C.M.S. versions of John and Galatians, were presented to the Bible Society. The Society submitted these in turn to public criticism by sending copies to all the Protestant missionaries in Bengal and to other Bengali scholars. Twelve replies — all more or less favourable to the Baptist version — were received, eight from European missionaries and four from well educated Bengalis.[52] These were examined by the Bible Society's sub-committee who then presented their findings and their own views in a special report. They declared that the C.M.S. translation was, generally speaking, chargeable

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50. Underhill, pp.134-5.
51. Underhill, p. 135.
52. Underhill, pp.137-139; British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Report, vol.XVIII, 52nd Report, 1856, p.CXVIII.

with being unintelligible, while "violations of idiom were not unfrequent". On the other hand, they stated that, although Wenger's revised edition "cannot as yet be regarded as a perfect or final version, it is unquestionably worthy of the high estimation in which it has generally been held by practical missionaries, since the first edition was published."[53] The sub-committee's report was endorsed by the Bible Society's general committee who, in their report for 1855, announced their intention "without pledging themselves for the future" to continue the publication and circulation of Wenger's version.[54]

In Calcutta, as in other centres of missionary activity, Bible translation was supplemented by the composition and translation of a vast amount of additional religious literature. Much of this work was carried out by the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society, as well as by smaller denominational organizations like the local branch of the S.P.C.K. The Tract Society, which Long joined in the 1840's, was a branch of the Religious Tract Society in England. Its

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53. Underhill, pp.137-139.
54. Underhill, p.139; British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Report, vol.XVIII, 52nd Report, 1856, p.CXVIII.

affairs were organized by a number of laity and Evangelical missionaries of various denominations.[55] Like the Auxiliary Bible Society, it was financed mainly by grants from its Parent Society and by local subscriptions.[56] The Parent Society's stated policy was that every one of its tracts and books should contain "a clear statement of the method of a sinner's recovery from guilt and misery, by the atonement and grace of the Redeemer",[57] and many of the Calcutta branch publications were probably based on the same idea as they were recommended by the parent organization.[58] The Calcutta Tract Society distributed a large number of tracts and books in English, particularly during the Mutiny, when there was a large influx of English troops;[59] but perhaps even greater attention was paid to the publication of tracts and books in the vernacular languages. A special Bengali editor, the Rev. J. Paterson of the L.M.S., was appointed in 1851 and this stimulated the production of Bengali works.[60]

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55. A.G. Roussac The New Calcutta Directory, 1861, Part VI, p.7.
56. J. Mullens A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour, p.162; C.C.O., vol.XXII, October 1853, p.456.
57. Religious Tract Society, Annual Report, 1850, p.XI.
58. ibid., 1851, p.27.
59. ibid., 1859, pp.64-67; 1860, p.68.
60. ibid., 1851, pp.27-28; 1852, p.31.

Bengali Christians were not particularly active in the creation of vernacular Christian literature.[61] As a result, the work of original composition as well as the task of translation was very often carried out by European missionaries — though sometimes with assistance from Bengali pandits. Long was one of the Protestant missionaries foremost in this type of literary activity.[62] He translated at least two biographies for the Tract Society in the 1850's — a Life of Felix Neff — an Evangelical pastor who worked among peasant people in the Swiss Alps — and a Life of Mahommet, "founded exclusively on Arabic authorities".[63] This latter work was divided into two parts, the first dealing with Muhammad's life and death and the second with the spread of Islam and its position and character in the 1850's. He also compiled a number of Bengali school books for the Calcutta Christian School Book Society which united with the Tract Society in May 1857.[64] Among these were two

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61. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, December 1855, p.545; Selections, No.XXII, (Register of Bengali Authors, Editors and Translators etc.,pp.123-144).
62. Selections, No.XXII, (Register of Bengali Authors, Editors and Translators etc., pp.123-144).
63. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/12 Bengal District Conference Report, 8-10 July 1851; CI1/0185/30 Long to Venn, 18 March 1853; CI1/0185/31 Long to Ridgeway, 13 May 1853; J.Long A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works, p.30.
64. C.C.O., vol.XXVI, June 1857, pp.247-248.

Bengali Christian readers and a work on Grammar dealing with Bengali roots and their derivations.[65] He also published a Description of Plants which, by the end of 1860, had sold 3,000 copies and together with his Bengali Grammar was used in Government schools.[66]

But probably Long's most important work during this period (and later) was in linguistics; he helped to develop the method of illustrating Christian ideas by means of Bengali emblems and proverbs. Following in the footsteps of the Rev. Morton and other Bengali scholars and with the help of friends, he collected together 1,200 Bengali proverbs from literature and from local inhabitants in Nadia, the 24-Parganas and Hooghly.[67] A list of some of these was published in the Calcutta Christian Observer in 1860 with the object, of helping those engaged in preaching and translation. "A Proverb", Long wrote, "often hits the nail on the head, when a train of reasoning would be of little avail, — particularly with Orientals."[68] The nature of this

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65. C.C.O., vol.XXX, April 1861, p.186.
66. G.R.P.I., 1859-60, Appendix A, pp.8, 9; C.M.S. CI1/0185/31 Long to Ridgeway, 13 May 1853; Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club, p.11.
67. C.C.O., vol.XXVIII, April 1860, p.179.
68. ibid.

kind of work is best illustrated by reference to some of Long's specific proposals. He stated, for example, that the Bengali proverb "a jogi begs not in his own village" might be used to illustrate Christ's saying that a prophet is not without honour save in his own country. He substituted the Bengali proverb "No food for his stomach, yet his head ornamented" for the English expression "starving the belly to clothe the back" and another of his suggestions was that the Bengali proverb "a drunkard becoming a wine-seller's witness" could be used to express the idea of a man's own relatives being called to witness in his favour, and so on.

Long soon discovered that this same technique could be used in teaching children. In 1855 he wrote that at Mirzapur he found it a very useful practice when classes came to him for secular instruction to begin with the reading and explanation of two or three verses of Scripture in Bengali, "conveying some Biblical truth in the form of [a] metaphor or simile so suitable to the Oriental mind thus strewing the path to abstract truth with flowers and familiarising youth with Scripture truth in an agreeable way."[69] During the same year (1855) he compiled a small book on this subject in Bengali containing a text for each

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69. C.M.S. CI1/0185/134 Long's Annual Report 1854-1855.

day of the year.[70] This was published by the Tract Society and reviewed by the Calcutta Christian Observer and the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer in April 1856. The reviewer in the Christian Intelligencer observed that "Hindus and Musalmans are in their own writings fond of having ethical and other truth illustrated by apt similies /sic/ Sanskrit and Arabic words abound in metaphysical language. Even in England", he added, "it is remarkable how preachers to the lower orders select texts with similies /sic/ while their prayers and addresses teem with references to the beautiful and appropriate imagery of Scripture."[71] "This little book contains a text for every day in the year", explained the reviewer in the Calcutta Christian Observer, "but it has this peculiarity that every text exhibits some simile or emblem, or figurative expression. Such a collection", he remarked,"is peculiarly adapted to the taste of Bengali readers, and calculated to give them a favourable impression of all the poetical merits of the Bible."[72]

In common with other missionaries, Long was not merely concerned with the task of communicating Christian

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70. C.M.S. CI1/0185/134 Annual Report 1854-1855.
71. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, April 1856, p.139.
72. C.C.O., Vol.XXVI, April 1856, p.188.

and European concepts and ideas to Bengali people; he was anxious to explore the world of Indian thought and feeling as a necessary preparation for the work of missions. In his view, a close study of context and environment was essential if missionaries were to adopt suitable plans and effective methods of evangelism.[73] He not only claimed that European missionaries should be thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular language, but that they should also possess a knowledge of Indian history, geography and literature and study and understand non-Christian religions.[74] His views on this latter subject were voiced in no uncertain terms in letters to the Parent Committee of the C.M.S., in an article in the Calcutta Review and at meetings of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.

The study of Hinduism and Islam was still neglected in missionary training colleges in England and a discussion of non-Christian religions was not even included on the agenda of the big interdenominational missionary conference held in Liverpool in 1860.[75] Even

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73. C.M.S. CI1/0185/37 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 18 June 1857.
74. ibid. - Calcutta Review, No.LXIV, June 1859, pp.304-305; C.M.S. CI1/0185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859; CI1/0185/68 Long to Parent Committee, 19 July 1860.
75. Conference of Missions, Liverpool 1860.

in Bengal there were apparently still missionaries who questioned the whole idea that a knowledge of non-Christian religions was necessary for the purpose of evangelism. "Can it be demonstrated that this familiar acquaintance with Hinduism is necessary?" asked one writer in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer. "The Lord's commission is simply to preach the Gospel, not to attack the systems of Heathendom, and it would be difficult to shew that St. Paul ever placed much reliance... in his knowledge of the Grecian system".[76] However, Long and various other missionaries in Calcutta were convinced that the study of non-Christian religions was of great importance and they argued that before leaving England for India, missionaries should study such subjects as "Hinduism in its Vedic, Pauranic and Sectarian Forms — Buddhism in India — Muhammedism its rise and influence in the world particularly in India."[77] In July 1860, Long again stressed the importance of these studies in a paper read before the Calcutta Missionary Conference. A special sub-committee was then appointed for the purpose of sending an appeal to England, Scotland and America on missionary training.[78]

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76. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer (the Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer), December 1854, p.49.
77. C.M.S. CI1/0185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859.
78. C.M.S. CI1/0185/68 Long to Parent Committee, 19 July 1860.

Long's enthusiasm for the study of non-Christian religions was almost certainly stimulated by his Indian experience. He believed that his own knowledge and understanding of Hinduism enabled him to expose its faults more effectively and, by way of contrast, demonstrate the superiority of the Christian faith[79] and he argued that all missionaries coming to India should acquire that mastery of the Muslim and Hindu religions and philosophical ideas "which can alone enable the advocate of Christianity to argue with them on an equal footing in an enlightened spirit and in an effective manner".[80] He also found that his knowledge of non-Christian religions made him more influential. "I know", he wrote, "that some study of their system etc has been of great use to me in giving me access to Hindus and in showing them that when I put forward the superior claims of Christianity it is not from ignorance of what exists in their own Shastras".[81]

Long, however, was not only convinced that missionaries should thoroughly understand the context in which they worked, but was also anxious to encourage a knowledge and understanding of India among Europeans in

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79. For the use he made of his knowledge of Hinduism in debate with pandits see Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, April 1854, p.120-121.
80. Calcutta Review, No.LXIV, June 1859, pp.304-305.
81. C.M.S. CI1/0185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859.

general. This he believed would call out their sympathy for the physical and spiritual condition of the Indian people and would help to break down racial prejudice.[82] Ignorance of the Hindus, he wrote, "is one of the causes why so many Europeans here treat Natives with contempt calling them niggers etc. and all sorts of contemptuous names". But apart from this, Long believed that British administrators, in order to maintain peace and security and govern in the interests of the Indian population, should be thoroughly acquainted with the people's attitudes, needs and feelings. For this reason he repeatedly attempted to draw the attention of Government officials to the vernacular press as an exponent of Indian thought and feeling. He believed that its publications gave a valuable indication of Indian complaints and grievances and if closely watched could give "admonitions and warnings".[83] "The opinions of the Native Press may often be regarded as the safety valve which gives warning of danger", he wrote, "thus had the Delhi Native Newspapers of January 1857 been

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82. C.M.S. CI1/0185/56 Long to Parent Committee, 22 February 1859; CI1/0185/72 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 7 May 1861; Calcutta Review, No.LXIV, June 1859, p.301.
83. Friend of India, 27 June 1861; Report of the Indigo Commission (appointed under Act XI of 1860 with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them etc.) 1860, A1626.

consulted by European functionaries, they would have seen in them how the Natives were rife for revolt, and were expecting aid from Persia and Russia."[84]

Early in 1858, he sent a memorial through the Director of Public Instruction to Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor, suggesting that the vernacular press should be placed under Government supervision. He suggested that a paid officer, having connections with the Education Department, should be appointed who would receive vernacular publications and report on them to the Government.[85] This plan was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, but was "disallowed as being extravagant" by the Government of India.[86]

However, in 1860, Long's references to the importance of the vernacular press in evidence he gave to the Indigo Commission excited a good deal of official attention,[87] possibly because the dangerous situation in indigo districts made officials more aware of the importance of consulting public opinion. The Government applied to Long for statistics[88] and he discussed the subject of the

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84. Selections, No. XXXII, p.III.
85. Friend of India, 27 June 1861; Englishman, 28 July 1861.
86. Selections, No.XXXII, p.IV; J.Murdoch Indian Year Book,1861, London 1862, p.179.
87. C.M.S. CI1/0185/68 Long to Parent Committee, 19 July 1860; R.I.C.,(14).
88. C.M.S. CI1/0185/68 Long to Parent Committee, 19 July 1860.

vernacular press with Sir Bartle Frere. "His [Long's] views seemed to me very sound", wrote Frere in a letter to Canning, "equally far from any idea of bribery or coercion, and I asked him to put them on paper. This he has done, and I enclose his letter. It is in official form and if your Lordship saw no objection, might be sent to the Lt.Gov. for his opinion on the suggestions. If adopted in Bengal the opinion of other Govts, might be asked as to similar measures elsewhere."[89] Long's letter cannot be traced,[90] but some idea of his proposals can be gathered from other sources and from his account of an interview he had with Canning six weeks later, again on the subject of the vernacular press. "I was glad to see that Lord Canning as well as other heads of Government are awakening to a sense of the importance of the Vernacular Press", wrote Long, "that it is a rising power and that it is the duty of Government to interest themselves in it ... I had previously sent him a translation which I had made from a Bengali paper on the Syrian question and he was impressed with the phase in the Native mind shewn in it... I think he will agree to

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89. H.C. Frere to Canning, 26 October 1860.
90. It is not in the Harewood Collection with Frere's letter, nor is it in Government of India, Public Proceedings (Home Department) 1860, or Government of Bengal, Education Proceedings, 1860.

a proposition of mine", he added, "that Government should pay a Curator to report regularly to them on the nature and character of Vernacular works which issue from the Press. With Government action on this point here and the attention excited in England something ought to result."[91]

Long's proposal was eventually accepted.[92] A Government Translator was appointed whose duty it was to make an abstract of the vernacular papers every week and submit it to Government. In this way, the abstract was submitted to Government for some time and, as it was considered interesting, it was circulated among Government officials and some members of the public. "This liberal measure", wrote the editor of the Hindoo Patriot in September 1874, "considerably encouraged the vernacular press. Since the time the system of Government reporting on the vernacular press was introduced, it has greatly advanced in intelligence, influence and usefulness".[93]

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91. C.M.S. CI1/0185/70 Long to Parent Committee, 8 December 1860. See also C.M.S. CI1/0185/122 Long's Journal, 2 November 1866; Church Missionary Intelligencer, vol.IX, new series, July 1884, pp.436-437.
92. C.M.S. CI1/0185/122 Long's Journal, 2 November 1866; Church Missionary Intelligencer, vol.IX, new series, July 1884, pp.436-437; Hindoo Patriot, 21 September 1874.
93. Hindoo Patriot, 21 September 1874; R.G. Sanyal Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India, Calcutta 1895, vol.II, p.100.

Long was also anxious to direct the attention of Europeans (and educated Bengalis as well) to the social condition of the great mass of the population. He probably anticipated that this would encourage reform and, in particular, improve the social condition of the ryots, which he believed was one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of Christianity.

He was connected with the Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement, a reform society founded in Calcutta in December 1854 by Kissorychand Mitra. Its first President was Devendranath Tagore and the Society supported women's education, widow remarriage, campaigns against polygamy and other reforms.[94] In March 1855, a prize was offered for the best paper on the social condition of the ryots, but as the essays submitted were unsatisfactory, the Committee of Adjudicators (consisting of Long, Devendranath Tagore and Kissorychand Mitra) decided to spend the money on the publication of a series of pamphlets containing original and statistical information and extracts from books and reports on the condition of the ryots.[95]

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94. N.S.Bose The Indian Awakening and Bengal, p.225; A.Gupta (ed.) Studies in the Bengal Renaissance, p.43.
95. Indian Field, 20 July 1861.

Long was also involved in similar activities in connection with the Bethune Society. This organization, named after a well known philanthropist,[96] was founded at a meeting convened by Dr. F.J. Mouat (Secretary of the Council of Education) in the Calcutta Medical College in December 1851.[97] Since the decline of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge in the 1840's, there was an increasing need for a new society which would cater for the high-level intellectual interests of educated Bengalis.[98] Dr. Mouat, who stressed, in particular, the importance of bringing educated Indians more into contact with each other, pointed out that the existing institutions like the Asiatic Society and the Horticultural and Agricultural Society were established for specific purposes and did not provide the facilities required. His proposal for a new society was warmly welcomed and a resolution was passed establishing the Bethune Society "for the consideration and discussion of questions connected with Literature and Science".[99]

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96. J.E.D.Bethune, former Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council and President of the Council of Education.
97. Proceedings of the Bethune Society, 1859-60, 1860-61, Calcutta 1862, Introduction, p.1.
98. Calcutta Review, No. XXXII, December 1851, pp.485-489.
99. Proceedings of the Bethune Society, 1859-60, 1860-61, Introduction, p.I.

The Society, however, was not particularly stable in its early years. In 1859 more than three hundred of "the very elite" of the educated Bengali community, as well as a large number of Europeans, were members; yet, attendance was irregular and the monthly lecture was the only function which really succeeded. The Society suffered from frequent changes in its President and many of its members complained that, having nothing to do, their interest in its proceedings gradually declined.[100] At this point Dr. Duff was persuaded to become President — a position which he accepted only on condition that the rules of the Society, forbidding discussion of politics and religion, were changed.[101] Dr. Duff at once set about reorganizing the Society and gave it a new lease of life. Members were divided into six main sections "for the prosecution of special inquiries and the cultivation of particular branches of liberal, useful and professional study". Each section was headed by a President, European or Bengali, assisted by two Secretaries. Every member of each section was expected to play some active and useful part in its activities. The result of research

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100. Bethune Society, At a Monthly Meeting etc., 10 November 1859, pp.4-6; Proceedings of the Bethune Society, 1859-60, 1860-61, Introduction, p.V.

101. G. Smith The Life of Alexander Duff, Vol.II,p.380.

undertaken in various sections was to be classified, arranged and condensed into an Annual Report presented at a general meeting of the whole Society.[102] Long, who was a foundation member and at one time Vice-President of the Society, was put in charge of the section on sociology or, as he explained in a letter to the C.M.S., the department dealing with "the social condition of the natives".[103] There were other sections on education, "Native Female Improvement", literature and philosophy, science and art, and sanitation.

In April 1861, Long presented the first report of his department.[104] Sociological enquiries, he explained, "form the basis of all good government", and were of special importance to educated Indians as they tended to draw their attention to the social condition of the people. He emphasized the need for practical results and pointed out that in England this type of inquiry had already stimulated social reform. He was obviously dissatisfied with the standard of work in his department, but explained that much of the time had been spent in

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102. Bethune Society, At a Monthly Meeting etc., 10 November 1859, pp.6-7.
103. C.M.S. CI1/0185/72 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 7 May 1861.
104. Proceedings of the Bethune Society, 1859-60, 1860-61, pp.408-443.

"mapping out the field of action". For the guidance of members of the sociological section he submitted nearly 500 questions for future investigation. These reflect something of Long's broad interest in social problems and his deep sympathy and concern for the common people. If full and sensible answers were returned to only half of these questions, said Dr. Duff, they might form a volume "exceeding in real interest and usefulness, any that had of late years been added to the stores of our Oriental Literature".[105]

Many of the Protestant missionaries were, like Long, energetic members of specifically religious literary organizations. They belonged to the Bible and Tract Societies and may have been also connected with denominational literary organizations. But few if any of them were as active as Long in Calcutta's predominantly secular clubs and societies. Dr.Kay of the S.P.G. appears to have been the only missionary apart from Long on the Vernacular Literature Committee in the 1850's[106] and Long

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105. Proceedings and Transactions of the Bethune Society, 10 November 1859 - 20 April 1869, Calcutta 1870, p.XI.

106. Friend of India, 19 December 1850; First Report of the Vernacular Literature Committee; Report of the Vernacular Literature Committee for 1854-55; Report of the Transactions of the Vernacular Literature Society, 1856-57; 1857-58; 1860-61.

was, for at least two years, the only missionary on the Committee of the Calcutta School Book Society during this period.[107] Six or seven other missionaries were members of the Bethune Society,[108] but only about three others belonged to the Asiatic Society and two or three others to the Horticultural and Agricultural Society when Long himself was a member of these organizations in the 1850's.[109] Long was also involved in the work of the Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement, which actively encouraged social reform, and he was active in other predominantly Bengali literary and debating organizations. He attended student meetings at the Hindu or Presidency College where essays on literary and scientific subjects were read[110] and he was one of the leading members of the Family Literary Club founded by college students in 1857.[111] Discussion was permitted on any subject and papers were read on

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107. A.G.Roussac New Calcutta Directory, 1857, Part VI, p.49; 1861, Part VI, p.31.
108. Selections from the Bethune Society's Papers, No.1, Calcutta 1854, Appendix.
109. Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vols.XIX to XX, 1850 - 1861; Journals of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, vols. IX to XI, 1854-1861.
110. C.M.S. CI1/0185/42 Long to Parent Committee, 22 November 1857; CI1/0185/58 Long to Parent Committee, 8 April 1859.
111. Second Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club, Calcutta 1859, p.7; N.S. Bose The Indian Awakening and Bengal, p.226.

topics such as education, literature, history, politics and religion. Long was elected President of the Club in about 1859 and meetings were occasionally attended by one or two other missionaries.[112]

In 1860, however, Long's activities, particularly in connection with the Family Literary Club, seriously impaired his relations with Europeans. He was already unpopular with indigo planters and their supporters for championing the cause of the ryots when the publication of an address he gave to the Family Literary Club in May 1860[113] provoked a storm of indignation and protest.

The general theme of his address, on "the duties of the educated natives to their uneducated countrymen", was not particularly controversial and he spent much of his time explaining to his audience the importance of developing agriculture, of spreading education among the masses, of studying Sanskrit and developing the Bengali language, of studying sociology and of taking a sympathetic interest in their Muslim fellow countrymen. But, during his address, Long also referred to Europeans and said, for example, that educated Indians should

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112. Second and Third Anniversary Reports of the Family Literary Club, Calcutta 1859 and 1860.
113. The Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club, etc., 1860.

protect the ryots from European exploitation. What seems to have infuriated the editors of the Englishman and Bengal Hurkaru in particular was that Long dared to criticise his own countrymen in front of "natives", and seemed to challenge the English settlers' cherished belief in their own racial and cultural superiority.[114] His disparaging remarks about indigo planting in Bengal were, from the editors' point of view, bad enough, but his claim that Bengali ryots had a natural intelligence and power of observation "far superior" to that of the English peasantry was perhaps more likely to cause greater offence. But this was not all. Long's address, according to the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru, was filled with "extravagant laudation of every writer not English".[115] His remarks, drawing attention to some of the qualities in Sanskrit literature and his claim that "very few Bengalis can understand Thompson's Winter, or Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, but all can appreciate Kalidas's Seasons, or the beautiful drama of Sakuntala", were strongly condemned. He was also attacked for saying that the Bible was an Oriental book, for stating that Muhammad was "one of the mightiest minds of past ages" and for saying

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114. Englishman, 13 July 1860; Bengal Hurkaru, 10 July 1860.
115. Bengal Hurkaru, 10 July 1860.

that England could boast of few sovereigns who had more enlightened and tolerant views than Akbar.

However, Long provoked opposition and protest not only by appearing to question European racial and cultural superiority, but also because he made the sort of remarks which, it was felt, would help to undermine European political control. In the opinion of the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru Long's address was "sedition" and both he and the editor of the Englishman quoted Long's remark that it was avowed in various quarters "that India is to be ruled not for the benefit of the 200 millions, but in the interests of a few foreigners". They also quoted Long's call for Hindu — Muslim co-operation. "The late mutiny", said Long, "showed how Hindus and Musalmans could unite in order to effect a joint object — may there yet be a union of a far higher aim, to promote the civilisation of the country, and to form a barrier against the insolence of certain interlopers and adventurers".[116] These commehts invited further European criticism of missionary activity. "The evil of Missionaries taking an active part in political parties requires no exaggeration from us", wrote the editor of the Englishman. "Whenever they deviate from their religious duties and

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116. Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club, etc.

mix themselves up in party the evil will predominate against all the good their teaching may do, it was this course which caused so much mischief in the West India Islands, and which has already done incalculable evil here. Under the present regime", he continued, "we believe there is no remedy, and it will require some frightful catastrophe to awaken the people of England, to the danger of encouraging a race of ambitious political Missionaries in this country."[117]

Long's Family Literary Club address also offended a number of Missionaries — partly it seems for the same reasons as it offended other Europeans. "To us here who know our Brother Long well, with his many good and useful qualities", wrote the Rev. Cuthbert in a letter to Henry Venn, "there is nothing new or strange in this address of his, for it is just a repetition of his daily conversation, and when given out among a number of Europeans and Christians, we can afford to smile at it; but when addressed on a Solemn Annual occasion to a number of educated Hindoos, full already of hatred to us and to Christianity, it is likely to be mischievous, and is certainly (many of us think) very unbecoming...such things from our good brother..tend to stimulate that antagonism

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117. Englishman, 13 July 1860.

of race, and bitter contempt and hatred for Europeans so characteristic of Young Bengal..."[118]

But what seems to have disturbed Cuthbert, and probably the other missionaries as well, more than anything else was that Long seemed to be forgetting "his character & position of a Christian Missionary".[119] In the first place, they could see little intrinsic connection between a missionary's activities in Bengali clubs and societies on the one hand and his proper task and function as a Christian missionary on the other. The editor of the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer who was discussing the question Long himself raised, as to whether or not missionaries were justified in occasionally giving lectures to Hindus on secular subjects, confessed that "we think that the more a Missionary is a Missionary indeed, the nearer he comes to THE PATTERN, the first Missionary of all, and His immediate disciples, the less he will incline to such things; the more he will feel, they are for others to do; that he is engaged in a greater, higher, more sacred work, and "cannot come down" to them, unless on some rare special occasions."[120]

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118. C.M.S. CI1/M15 Cuthbert to Venn, 20 July 1860.
119. ibid.
120. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, August 1860, p.266.

Secondly, Cuthbert and others complained because, in their opinion, Long did not even attempt to make what connection there was between Christianity and his activities in clubs and societies clear and explicit to the Bengalis present. In Cuthbert's view there seemed to be "an ignoring of Christianity itself" and there was a strong feeling among Long's critics that, in attending such meetings as these, he should be involved in direct evangelism — discussing or preaching the Christian faith. In a letter to the C.M.S. the Rev. Bomwetsch claimed that Long was often misunderstood, underrated and misrepresented "even by some of the Missionaries" and he added a little later that "the remark has been made that Mr. Long goes to Social : Hindoo meetings, & there never says anything of the Xian. Religion."[121]

Long replied to these missionary criticisms in an article in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer in August 1860.[122] In the first place, he admitted that his social activities were not always strictly related to his task as a Christian missionary and that he went to meetings partly for recreation. "A Missionary as a man

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121. C.M.S. CI1/050/5C Bomwetsch to Parent Committee, 6 July 1861.

122. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, August 1860, pp.261-265. This article, signed "Philindus", was almost certainly by Long. It was attributed to him by the Bengal Hurkaru (11 August 1860) was published a few days after attacks on him in the Calcutta papers, explained why he made certain remarks in his address, and repeated ideas Long put forward elsewhere.

must have seasons of rest", he wrote, "the bow that is always bent will break — relaxation is necessary, and so is the throwing of the mind with that design into merely innocent pursuits; to some minds the best relaxation is literary occupation". His activities in connection with the Asiatic and Horticultural and Agricultural Societies were probably associated more with this desire for enjoyment and recreation than anything else.

But Long also argued that, in spite of what others might think, he was helping to prepare for evangelism — for a future proclamation of the Gospel. "Missionaries by occasionally lecturing to natives on useful secular subjects which they already appreciate", he wrote, "shew themselves their friends, gain influence, conciliate and lessen the prejudice against Missionaries as a class. Mr. Williams in the South Sea Isles spent much time on ship building and the mechanical arts in order to gain influence over the natives." And he might also have added that by joining in the work of societies like the Vernacular Literature Committee, the Bethune Society, the Association of Friends and the Family Literary Club he was helping to promote education, encourage the development of the Bengali language and stimulate social reforms — work which he regarded as necessary preparation for evangelism and the spread of Christianity among the mass of the population.

Finally, Long argued that it was not always necessary to talk about Christianity at these meetings in order to present it and recommend its adoption. "The great truth has to be acted out in India", he wrote, "that Christianity must be shewn more by deeds than words, more by example than precept, more in life than in dogmas. Missionaries and other Europeans mingling freely and socially among Hindus without retaining any of the hauteur of "the dominant race" would have a greater effect in recommending Christianity than any mere teachings on brotherly love."

But while Long found himself involved in controversy with Europeans in Calcutta and even with some of his missionary colleagues, he was becoming increasingly popular among the educated Bengalis; in fact, some of the very same comments and activities which offended Europeans tended to increase his influence and prestige in the Indian community.

His activities in connection with the Vernacular Translation Committee, the Bengal Asiatic Society, the Bethune Society, the Family Literary Club and other associations brought him into close contact with Bengali intellectuals and with almost all the leaders of Bengali society. His popularity is reflected not only in

remarks made by Bengalis themselves,[123] but by the fact that he was elected President of the all Bengali Family Literary Club and even during the Mutiny, was pressed to accept the position of Vice-President of a society connected with the Hindu College.[124] Europeans who, like Long, mixed freely with Bengalis on an equal footing, were likely to create a favourable impression —especially when racial prejudice among Europeans in Calcutta was as fierce as it was at the end of the 1850's. Moreover, Bengali intellectuals appreciated Long's genuine concern for their welfare. In 1861, for example, the students and ex-students of the Calcutta Medical College, who pointed out that they were better acquainted with Long than with any other missionary, stated that they could not point to any other single individual who had been "so devoted to the cause of Native advancement."[125]

But the secret of Long's popularity and influence probably also lay in his sympathy for Bengali national and political aspirations. He had a deep respect for India's cultural heritage and, like the British Indian Association, was anxious to foster the study of

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123. Bengal Hurkaru, 19 July 1861; Indian Field, 24 August 1861.
124. C.M.S. CI1/0185/42 Long to Parent Committee, 22 November 1857.
125. Indian Field, 24 August 1861

Sanskrit.[126] His stress on the need to develop Bengali language and literature probably appealed to the increasing number of Bengali intellectuals who, like Michael Datta and others, were in the process of rediscovering values in their own national language. Moreover, politically conscious Bengalis were bound to applaud Long's claim that India should be ruled for the benefit of its subjects and not merely in the interests of Englishmen, and welcome his emphasis on the need for consulting Indian public opinion, his opposition to proposals for censoring the vernacular press[127] and his assertion, before the Indigo Commission, that Indians should be appointed magistrates even in areas in the interior where many Europeans were located.[128] The feelings of at least some members of the British Indian Association towards Long's literary and semi-political activities in the 1850's are disclosed in an address presented to him by Radhakanta Deb, Ramanath Tagore and others in 1861. They declared that the part Long had "for many years together" taken in the advancement of vernacular literature and in the dissemination of the

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126. Public Correspondence and Petitions of the British Indian Association, Calcutta 1858.
127. Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No.XXXII, pp.III-VII.
128. R.I.C., A1667, A1668.

views and feelings of the Bengali people on topics of administration and social improvement, as reflected through the medium of the vernacular press, had justly entitled him to "the gratitude of all classes of the native community" and they added that the cause of good government had been "not a little furthered" by his activities.[129]

It would be wrong to assume that, by mixing with educated Bengalis and expressing a sympathetic interest in all their activities, Long was necessarily breaking down prejudice against Christianity and commending the Gospel. Bengalis may have seen no connection between Long's attitudes and actions on the one hand and his religion on the other. Yet, judging from the Rev. Bomwetsch's comments in a letter to the C.M.S., it appears that at least some educated Bengalis did perceive a connection between Long's faith and activities, and Bomwetsch argued that this was helping to create a more favourable attitude towards Christianity. "I beg just to add", he wrote, "what a highly English-educated Native gentleman, & one of the best writers in the vernacular too, & more favourably inclined to Christianity than

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129. Bengal Hurkaru, 19 July 1861.

many others, told me some ten or eleven months ago. He said Mr. Long had done much more than all the rest of the Calcutta Missionaries together, in showing forth the sublimity & righteousness of the Xian. Religion. The sympathy he shows to us in every way (he said) & the help he lents [sic] to every improvement etc. makes a much more favourable impression, than if he was going about merely preaching."[130]

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130. C.M.S. CI1/050/5C Bomwetsch to Parent Committee, 6 July 1861.

CHAPTER V

The Indigo Question and the Nil Darpan Episode

Part 1
Missionaries and Planters in the 1850's

The Protestant missionaries in Bengal in the 1850's, like their predecessors earlier in the nineteenth century, were actively engaged in social reform. In the earlier period the missionaries were concerned mainly with sati, hook swinging and other practices connected with religious belief, but by the 1850's many of these questions had been at least partially settled by Government legislation, and the missionaries' attention was focussed more on social problems connected with the economic situation. They were disturbed by some aspects of the zamindari system and, in the latter part of the 1850's in particular, with the effects of indigo planting on the rural population.

Indigo planting had long been an unpopular form of cultivation among ryots in some parts of Bengal, and, throughout the 1850's, their reluctance to sow for the indigo planters continually increased. The reasons for this have recently been examined by Dr. B.B.Kling.[1] In

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1. B.B.Kling The Bengal Indigo Disturbances, 1859-1862: A Study in the Origins of Political Activity in Modern Bengal.

the first place, it appears that the ryots' opposition to indigo cultivation hardened partly as a result of the rise in prices. They had seldom found indigo planting a profitable occupation and, during the 1850's, in spite of inflation and the higher price for indigo on the Calcutta and London markets, the planters still did not pay the ryots any more for their crops. The ryots gradually became aware that they could obtain more for their food crops sold on the open market than they could for indigo sold to the planters.[2] In 1860 the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal calculated that the ryots lost, on an average, 7 rupees per bigah when they cultivated indigo in place of any other ordinary crop. But Dr. Kling emphasizes the importance of other changes as well, and he argues that the ryots' opposition to indigo was intensified by their growing awareness of their legal rights and by the support and encouragement they received from Calcutta intellectuals.[3]

The planters, for their part, tightened their control over the ryots' lives, so that they found it harder to escape from exploitation. As a result of the formation of the Indigo Planters' Association in 1851, planters

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2. Kling, pp.30-58.
3. ibid., pp.58-59, 122-123.

became better organized and no longer competed with each other for the ryots' crops; the ryots tended to lose their bargaining position.[4] The planters also acquired zamindaris around their factories and Bengali zamindars, who may previously have given the ryots some protection, were forced to sell.[5] It was becoming increasingly possible for planters to threaten recalcitrant ryots with loss of land. But, although the ryots were more completely in the planters' grip, and although planters were in a better position to threaten and intimidate ryots who refused to cultivate indigo, the ryots' resistance continued, and planters, or their factory servants, were still compelled to use force and violence in their attempts to secure indigo cultivation. The Indigo Commission of 1860 declared that ryots who refused to sow were frequently imprisoned, that the seizure of the ryots' cattle was a common occurrence and that, in some instances, date gardens and plants were uprooted to make room for indigo.[6]

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4. Kling, p.109.
5. J.P. Grant Minute on the Report of the Indigo Commission (17 December 1860) in C.E. Buckland Bengal Under the Lieutenant-Governors, vol.1, Calcutta 1901, pp.238-271.
6. Report of the Indigo Commission, /R.I.C./ appointed under Act XI of 1860 with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them and Appendix, 1860.

Long's village at Thakurpukur was not situated in an indigo area,[7] but some of the other Protestant missionaries were working in districts where indigo was grown. The Baptists, for example, had a mission station in Jessore, in the heart of one of the most important indigo districts, as well as stations in Dacca and Burdwan, where large amounts of indigo were produced. But C.M.S. missionaries undoubtedly had the widest experience of the indigo system and were probably better acquainted with its more violent and inhuman aspects. Krishnagar, the most important indigo district in Bengal, and an area seriously affected by the indigo disturbances of 1859-62, was also the most important centre of C.M.S. activity in the Presidency. In 1851, 10 out of the 17 C.M.S. missionaries in Bengal were working in Krishnagar, and some, like the Rev. F. Schurr resided in villages on indigo estates.[8]

As the 1850's progressed, some of the Krishnagar missionaries in particular found it increasingly difficult to ignore what the planters were doing. Ryots frequently

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7. R.I.C., A1625.
8. For the location of mission stations in 1851 and after see J. Mullens Revised Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon and Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions in India, Ceylon and Burma for 1871. Evidence relating to the distribution of indigo cultivation can be deduced from production figures in R.I.C., Appendix 17. See also map.

came to the missionaries asking for help and advice[9] and, in the opinion of missionaries like Schurr, the whole system was brutal and oppressive. In a private letter to the Rev. Cuthbert, Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, he referred with considerable feeling to "the great iniquity and tyrannical oppression of the indigo planters...Surely it is time", he wrote, "that the Indian Government put a stop to such inhuman & cruel proceedings: every Indigo factory deserves to be closed, yea utterly abolished."[10]

As some of the missionaries were pastors, responsible for Christian converts, they felt it was their special duty to protect their flock from exploitation. Christian as well as Hindu and Muslim ryots were persecuted for refusing to sow. Some Christians had their cattle taken away by factory servants, some were beaten up or had their gardens destroyed and replanted with indigo. Others were threatened with loss of their land if they refused to sow and, on at least one occasion, a Christian family was

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9. R.I.C., A891 (Lincke), A1278, A1280, A1293 (Blumhardt), A1675 (Cuthbert); C.M.S. CI1/0180/29 Lincke's Journal, November to December 1852, p.19; CI1/0258/27 Schurr's Journal, 17 December 1854; CI1/0299/3 Vaughan to Venn, 17 September 1857; Kling,p.163.
10. C.M.S. CI1/0258/26 Schurr to Cuthbert, 7 April 1853.

forced to leave.[11]

In cases of severe oppression the missionaries usually spoke to the planter or wrote a letter protesting. Planters did occasionally apologize and grant relief, but, in other cases, nothing was done.[12]

By the end of the 1850's, most of the Protestant missionaries living in and around Calcutta, as well as almost all of those in the indigo districts, were openly critical of the indigo system. They were convinced not only that indigo planting was unjust and oppressive, but that it checked the spread of Christianity and interfered with evangelism.[13]

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11. R.I.C., A779, A780 (Schurr), A870 (Anderson), A891 (Lincke), A954, A985-987 (Bomwetsch).
12. R.I.C., A778, A779, A809 (Schurr), A891, A892, A911 (Lincke), A1324 (Blumhardt); Kling, pp.166-167.
13. This point was made by missionaries, one way or another, with monotonous regularity publicly and privately — in public debate, in petitions to the Government, when under oath before the Indigo Commission, in letters to their Parent Societies, in journals and in private discussion among themselves. See, for example, Bengal Hurkaru (correspondence) 10 March and 25 April 1860; Indian Field, 5 January 1861; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, May 1856, p.147; C.C.O., Vol.XXIV, November 1855, p.511, Vol.XXX, September 1861, p.426; R.I.C., A928, A1819, A1625; C.M.S. CI1/0299/3 Vaughan to Venn, 17 September 1857; CI1/0185/41, CI1/0185/65, CI1/0185/66, CI1/0185/67 Long to Parent Committee, 7 November 1857, 9, 23 April, 18 June 1860, CI1/M16 Long to Bishop Cotton, 24 August 1861, CI1/0180/31 Lincke's Journal, February 1855, CI1/050/5C Bomwetsch to Parent Committee, 6 July 1861.

In the first place, it was felt that the behaviour and bad example of so called "Christian" planters prejudiced the ryots and others against Christianity. Long was particularly concerned with this problem and had for years been drawing attention to the arrogance and oppressive behaviour of Europeans which he said created an aversion to Christianity.[14] "Of all the obstacles to the spread of Christianity in India", he said, "one of the greatest is the irreligious conduct of many of my own countrymen. Thousands of natives have said to me, We judge of the Christian religion by what your countrymen do, not by what they say; by the life not by the doctrine."[15] The planters, he believed, were doing a great deal of damage and, when giving evidence before the Indigo Commission of 1860, he claimed that their conduct and bad

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14. He was concerned with the conduct of European troops as well as with the attitude and behaviour of European settlers and, in February 1860, wrote to the Rev. William Arthur, Secretary of the W.M.M.S., welcoming the appointment of a Methodist minister to the military station at Barrackpur. "What I feel most of all as a Missionary", wrote Long, "is Christianity in India has been greatly retarded by the outrages and atrocities of our English soldiers and their contempt for "nigger"/sic/...Christianise the soldiers and it will react powerfully on the natives." /M.M.S. MSS. Mysore 1858-1874, Long to Arthur, 21 February 1860/.
15. Englishman, 29 July 1861 (address of Long to the Court).

example were affecting missionary work even in Calcutta.[16] Most of the other missionaries were also disturbed by the planters' bad example.[17] In the Mofussil, ryots frequently told missionaries that they would not listen to their preaching if they professed the same religion as the indigo planters.[18] The effect of this kind of experience on the Rev. Bomwetsch of Krishnagar can perhaps be seen in a letter he wrote to the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. in 1861. "We are surrounded in large numbers by those on account of whom the name of Jesus is blasphemed among the heathen", he wrote, "and only self righteous, blind Christian Pharisees ever fail to see how by those our work is almost completely thwarted".[19]

In the second place, Long and other missionaries felt that indigo planting hindered the spread of Christianity because, oppressed by the system, ryots became preoccupied with their physical wants and sufferings, and had neither the will nor leisure to

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16. R.I.C., A1625; C.M.S. CI1/0185/41, CI1/0185/65, CI1/0185/66, CI1/0185/67 Long to Parent Committee, 7 November 1857, 9, 23 April, 18 June 1860.
17. C.M.S. CI1/0185/65 Long to Parent Committee, 9 April 1860; Indian Field, 5 January 1861.
18. R.I.C., A1819 (Cuthbert).
19. C.M.S. CI1/050/5C Bomwetsch to Parent Committee, 6 July 1861.

consider their spiritual condition.[20] The Rev. Lincke, for example, pointed out that the ryots complained that the great oppression they suffered from indigo planters and others, prevented them from giving their minds to the subject of religion.[21] The point was more fully developed by the Rev. Cuthbert when speaking before the Indigo Commission. "It is found in a thousand instances", he said, "most difficult to improve the moral condition of a people, whose social condition is extremely low, and hence Christian philanthropists in England, such as Lord Shaftesbury, aim at raising the physical and social condition of the poorer classes, while seeking to benefit them religiously, and we have thought that the poverty, distress and unsettledness of mind, which the people complain of in indigo districts, stand in the way of their moral improvement, and their attention to religion: to use an eastern proverb "an empty belly has no ears"."[22]

Finally, Long and a few other missionaries, believed

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20. Indian Field, 5 January 1861; C.C.O., Vol.XXIV, November 1855, p.511; Friend of India, 27 June 1861; R.I.C., A1819 (Cuthbert); C.M.S. CI1/0180/30 Lincke's Account of a Preaching Excursion; CI1/050/5C Bomwetsch to Parent Committee, 6 July 1861; CI1/0185/65, CI1/0185/66 Long to Parent Committee, 9, 23 April 1860; E. Storrow India and Christian Missions, p.42.
21. C.M.S. CI1/0180/30 Account of a Preaching Excursion, February 1852.
22. R.I.C., A1819.

that the indigo system was not only an injustice and a serious hindrance to the spread of Christianity, but also a threat to the growth of self-supporting independent churches.[23] It was felt that by keeping converts poor, it prevented them paying for all the expenses connected with the local church, and kept them dependent on the mission, or on some outside organization. The Rev. Lincké argued along these lines and pointed out that because his Christian ryots were more protected from the indigo planters than some of the other ryots nearby, they had become more prosperous. As a result they were able to defray their own Chapel expenses, had bought an harmonium for the Church and sometimes contributed to the poor.[24]

The attitude of many of the Protestant missionaries in Bengal to the indigo system recalls in some ways the attitude of Evangelicals in England to other social problems. Both groups wanted to reform existing abuses partly because they believed that social conditions hindered spiritual development. In a recent study of the part played by Evangelicals in social reform in Victorian England, Dr. K. Heasman stresses the point that some

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23. R.I.C., A1819 (Cuthbert); C.M.R., vol.IV, new series, December 1859, p.377; C.M.S. CI1/0258/27 Lincké's Journal, 14 January 1854.
24. C.M.S. CI1/0258/27 Lincké's Journal, 14 January 1854.

Evangelicals felt that as the poor were so deeply sunk in misery, spiritual help would be of little effect without some improvement in physical conditions.[25] This attitude is perhaps reflected in an earlier period in the writings of Wilberforce on slavery.[26] Thus it appears that the missionary opposition to indigo planting was partly derived from an outlook already fully developed in Britain.

Though the missionaries wanted to reform the indigo system it was generally in their interests not to antagonize planters. The planters could, if they wished, be of great assistance — by providing missionaries living in isolated districts, or on preaching tours, with hospitality and friendship, by encouraging education among the people, or perhaps by employing preachers on

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25. K. Heasman Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era, London 1962, pp.19-20.

26. See, for example, W. Wilberforce An Appeal to the Religion, Justice and Humanity of the inhabitants of the British Empire on behalf of the Negro Slaves of the West Indies, London 1823.
A number of the missionaries, including Long, argued that indigo planting was in fact a form of slavery or semi-slavery and both he and Cuthbert claimed that they opposed the indigo system partly for the same reasons as missionaries opposed slavery in the West Indies. /Friend of India, 27 June 1861; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, May 1856, p.155-156; Indian Field, 5 January 1861; C.C.O., vol.XXV, June 1856, p.249./

indigo estates.[27] On the other hand, if the planters were hostile, they could sow dissension among converts, exploit denominational differences, or even threaten missionaries with physical force.[28]

Missionaries in indigo districts anxious to protect the rights of their Christian converts could scarcely avoid becoming involved in disputes with planters, but the Calcutta missionaries were not in this predicament and, at first, were extremely reluctant to take any measures which might seriously disrupt their relations with planters. Their initial moves on the indigo question were cautious and hesitant. They were particularly concerned with the fact that ryots (unlike the planters) had no spokesmen — no one to present their point of view — but hoped that other people would draw attention to their condition and press for reform. Various civil servants, planters and others were approached, but would do nothing, and the missionaries began to feel that they themselves would have to agitate on the ryots' behalf.[29] But they were still hesitant

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27. Calcutta Christian Herald, 27 August 1844; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, May 1856, pp.147-148; Kling, p.92.
28. C.M.S. CI1/0185/59 Long to Parent Committee, 17 May 1859; Kling, p.164; Dacca News, 17 May 1856.
29. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, June 1856, p.190; September 1856, p.310.

and, when in 1854, the Calcutta Missionary Conference set up a Sub-Committee on the indigo question, under the chairmanship of the Rev.Cuthbert, very little work was done — partly, wrote Cuthbert, "through a sort of reluctance to awaken the storm of resentment which was foreseen from certain quarters".[30]

In the course of the following year, however, the missionaries became involved in a public controversy with the planters, which lasted intermittently until after Long's trial in 1861. In September 1855, the missionaries, with the exception of those connected with the S.P.G. held the first in a series of important missionary conferences. Papers were presented on a wide range of subjects and the Rev. Schurr, at the request of the Conference Secretary,[31] read one On the Influence of the System of Indigo Planting on the Spread of Christianity. He paid particular attention to the situation in Lower Bengal where, he said, "indigo...does not pay the ryot, and is a forced cultivation". He pointed out that because indigo did not pay, the ryot became dependent on other crops and when these failed his misery was "indescribable". He also alluded to some of the methods planters used in

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30. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, June 1856, p.191.
31. Oriental Baptist, April 1856, p.115.

forcing the ryots to sow, to the corruption of the police and to the terrible vengeance which, he said, awaited any ryot who dared seek redress in the magistrate's court. After discussing other aspects of the indigo question and recommending the appointment of a Commissioner to make enquiries, Schurr ended his paper by reading a statement by some of the Krishnagar ryots complaining of injustices in the existing system and stating other grievances he had mentioned.[32]

In the discussion among the missionaries which followed, it was generally agreed that the ryots suffered a great deal under the indigo system, but some of the missionaries admitted that their knowledge was incomplete and that they had heard only one side of the story. The question was then referred to the Sub-Committee appointed the previous year.[33]

Schurr's paper together with a report of the discussion that followed, was subsequently published. The planters were furious and attacked the missionaries in the Dacca News, in the Bengal Hurkaru and in the Englishman. Alexander Forbes, a planter from Dacca and later editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and James Forlong, one of the most

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32. C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, pp.505-516.
33. ibid., pp.528-530; Oriental Baptist, March 1856, p.74.

influential planters in Krishnagar, led in the attack.[34] The planters denied that indigo planting was forced on the ryots and that it was unprofitable to them. Missionaries were accused of talking nonsense, of showing "the silliest credulity" and it was claimed that they had no right to mix themselves up in politics and secular affairs.[35] The Rev. Schurr was bitterly attacked and carried on a vigorous controversy with planters in the Oriental Baptist — the local journal of the Baptist missionaries.[36] The Rev. Cuthbert was also abused.[37] In the published report of the Conference he was quoted as saying that "indigo is a forced system and is stained with oppression and cruelty" and that "the ryot never made anything of his crop". However, replying to the planters in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer he claimed that he had been badly reported and qualified these statements; but he confirmed that he had made another comment and repeated it — that he knew of only one thoroughly Christian man who remained a planter, and he was ruined.[38] Cuthbert followed up this defence

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34. Oriental Baptist, March 1856, pp.75-79; C.C.O., vol.XXV, June 1856, pp.248-258.
35. Oriental Baptist, March 1856, pp.75-79; C.C.O., vol.XXV, June 1856, pp.250-258; Dacca News, 17 May, 7 June, 26 July, 2, 23 August, 19 September 1856; Bengal Hurkaru, 19 March, 5 May 1856; Englishman, 27 May 1856.
36. Oriental Baptist, March 1856, pp.75-79, April 1856, pp.115-116, May 1856, pp.148-149.
37. C.C.O., vol.XXV, June 1856, pp.252, 256-258; Dacca News, 23 August 1856.
38. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, May 1856, pp.148-159.

with three more articles in the Christian Intelligencer on the indigo question.[39] In these articles he attempted to keep the controversy as much away from personalities as possible, to draw public attention to the situation in the indigo districts and to suggest measures which the Government might adopt. In his last article, published in August 1856, he developed the idea that the Government should appoint a Commission of Inquiry and suggested that it should investigate "the whole question of the condition of the rural population in connection with indigo planters and zemindars both native and Europeans."

Long also believed that some sort of inquiry was necessary and, in a letter to the Bengal Hurkaru, praised the planters for suggesting an inquiry into the state of Bengal in a petition to Parliament, and tactfully suggested that the Indigo Planters' Association should itself begin investigations into the condition of ryots on indigo estates.[40] This challenge was taken up by the editor of the Dacca News. He argued with doubtful logic that there was no need for inquiry. "Two facts", he wrote, "that the ryot is a free man, with a right to go

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39. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, June 1856, pp.189-199, July 1856, pp.229-236, August 1856, pp.269-277. See also September 1856, pp.308-314 for comment.
40. Bengal Hurkaru, 20 May 1856.

with his wife and children where he will — and that the cultivation of Indigo introduces into Bengal and the N.W. Provinces, upwards of One Million and a half Sterling per annum — are sufficient to prove to one not utterly ignorant of the first principles of political economy, that the greatest good of the greatest number is promoted by the cultivation of Indigo. It is for Mr. Long and others who think as he does, to prove, in defiance of the assertions of the Indigo Planters, and the maxims of Bentham and Adam Smith, that the cultivation of Indigo produces those evils which they assert exist."[41]

The missionaries, however, were not deterred by protests and, in September 1856, the Calcutta Missionary Conference petitioned the Governor-General, through Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor, for a Commission of Inquiry into Lower Bengal.[42] The memorial was signed by 25 missionaries of various denominations who lived in and around Calcutta. They described the social condition of the people of Bengal as "deplorable in the extreme" and asked for a searching inquiry into all the causes affecting the condition of the population. They stressed the need for an investigation into the state of the police and judicial system and, among other things,

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41. Dacca News, 7 June 1856.
42. Parliamentary Papers, vol.XI, 1st Session, 1857.

called for an examination of "the powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how these powers are used." They stated their conviction that "measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer; as from the information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds".

But while the missionaries explained at some length what the Commission should do, they did not give any definite reason why it should be appointed.[43] However, there can be little doubt that the missionaries hoped an inquiry would eventually lead to reform — and reform was what they really wanted. They may have been influenced by what appeared to them to be Halliday's ignorance of the real situation in indigo districts[44] and they probably hoped that a Commission of Inquiry, like their own inquiries into the practice of sati and evils connected

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43. This point was noted by J.P.Grant in a subsequent Minute (22 October 1856) on the missionaries' petition. /Parliamentary Papers, vol.XI, 1st session, 1857./

44. The editor of the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer reported that when Halliday was shown letters from missionaries describing conditions in indigo districts he "seemed to give them only half credence". /Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, April 1860, p.102./

with Hindu festivals, would stir up public opinion and convince Government and public alike of the urgent need for reform — which could then be carried out on the basis of the inquiry.

However, this petition for a Commission of Inquiry was eventually rejected. Halliday, who sent it on to Canning, the Governor-General, enclosed a Minute of his own recording his reasons for declining to support the missionaries' proposal.[45] He denied that the missionaries had painted an accurate picture of the condition of the rural population and especially the claim that the people exhibited a spirit of sullen discontent on account of their miseries and a bitter hatred of the Government. He admitted that reforms were needed in the police and judicial system, but stated that these reforms were already under way. There was, he wrote, no need for an inquiry into these or any other subject the missionaries mentioned. Government officials had all the knowledge they required — the time for investigation had passed and the time for action arrived. He argued that a Commission of Inquiry would delay reform, stir up class antagonisms, raise false hopes in the minds of the people and would be expensive and too difficult to organize.

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45. Minute, 18 September 1856, Parliamentary Papers, Vol.XI, 1st session, 1857.

A few days later, he also forwarded a petition from the British Indian Association supporting the missionaries' request for a Commission of Inquiry.[46] But instead of encouraging the Supreme Government to adopt the missionaries' suggestion, the Association's petition probably had the opposite effect. The petitioners stated that they had read the missionaries' memorial with much interest and felt it their duty "at once to unite their voices in support of the prayer of those intelligent and philanthropic gentlemen". But they expressed their disagreement with some of the conclusions reached by the missionaries and, whereas the missionaries wanted to inquire into the zamindari system, the British Indian Association (representing zamindars) suggested that the Commission should try to discover whether "the social evils of these provinces" were to any, and to what extent, caused by "the well-intended efforts and zeal of professional Christian Missionaries". Thus the Association's petition made it even clearer than before that the interests of the missionaries and zamindars were conflicting and strengthened the belief that an inquiry would deepen class differences and stir up class antagonism.[47]

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46. Parliamentary Papers, Vol.XI, 1st session, 1857.
47. Parliamentary Papers, Vol.XI, 1st session, 1857. See in particular Minute by J.A. Dorin, 10 October 1856.

Canning recorded a Minute of his own endorsing Halliday's views. He too stated that reforms in the police and judicial systems were in the process of being carried out and that there was no need for a Commission of Inquiry. Like Halliday, he claimed that officials had enough information at their disposal, that an inquiry would delay Government action, provoke class feelings and jealousies and raise extravagant expectations in the minds of the people. He also added that the type of inquiry the missionaries proposed was too vague and covered too wide a field to be effective.[48]

His reply to the missionaries rejecting their petition was courteous but brief. He stated, in perfect truth, that their request for a Commission of Inquiry had been carefully considered, but he did not explain as fully as he might have why it had been rejected. The only explanation he gave the missionaries was that an inquiry "while likely to give rise to very serious evils, would fail to secure or forward in any degree the end at which the Government no less than the Memorialists aim, namely, the moral and social improvement of the people".[49]

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48. Minute, 6 October 1856, Parliamentary Papers, Vol.XI, 1st session, 1857.
49. This reply, contained in Parliamentary Papers, Vol.XI, 1st session, 1857, (Beadon, Secretary of the Government of India, to Grey, Secretary of the Government of Bengal, 11 November 1856) was forwarded to the Secretary of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, 29 November 1856. /Missionaries and Indigo Planters, pp.10-12./

This explanation must have sounded vague and unconvincing to men who had no knowledge of the discussion that had taken place behind the scenes, and the missionaries were disappointed.

Having failed to move the Supreme Government of India, the missionaries turned to the House of Commons. Early in 1857, they petitioned the Commons for a Commission of Inquiry along the lines of the one they had suggested to the Governor-General. A debate on the basis of this petition took place in the Commons in June 1857.[50] The missionaries were ably represented by Arthur Kinnaird, M.P. for Perthshire, who had connections with the C.M.S. Though he was forced to withdraw his motion calling for special inquiries into the state of the rural population in Bengal, Vernon Smith, Chairman of the Board of Control, and R.D. Mangles, Chairman of the Company of Directors admitted the importance of the subject and promised the House they would do as much as they could to reform existing evils. Through this debate in the Commons, the missionaries succeeded in giving fairly wide publicity to the depressed condition of the Bengal ryots and to the need for reform. There were more members present during the debate than was usually the case when Indian affairs

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50. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol.CXLV, pp.1587-1638 (11 June 1857).

were discussed in Parliament and most of the leading newspapers in England reported and commented favourably on Kinnaird's speech.[51]

In Bengal, the situation was becoming increasingly serious. The outbreak of the Mutiny, the continuing rise in prices and, in particular, Halliday's emergency legislation appointing some of the indigo planters honorary magistrates, caused increasing discontent in indigo districts.[52] The situation remained serious under J.P. Grant (a man of considerable administrative experience and former member of the Governor-General's Council) who on Halliday's retirement, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1859. He was more understanding of the ryots' position than Halliday, and Dr.Kling argues that his prompt action in answering the ryots' petitions, instead of calming excitement and averting trouble, touched off the first disturbances.[53]

In April 1860, Long in a letter to his Parent Committee reported the outbreaks. "Some of the droppings of the Storm long foretold for the masses of Bengal have fallen," he wrote, "from this country appeal after appeal about the wretched condition of the ryots has gone — but who believed it? Some of us here are boginning to think

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51. C.C.O., vol.XXVI, September 1857, pp.394-399.
52. Kling, p.139.
53. ibid., p.157.

that in England people are getting tired of hearing the real condition of the masses, — be it so — but God's Providence will rouse them from their sleep...during the last month the chief subject of local interest here has been a Manifestation on the part of the Ryots in Krishnagur, Jessore and other Districts against the cultivation of Indigo — in various cases they assembled in large bodies to avow their determination — Government has taken the subject up and a special act of the Legislative Council has been passed to meet the case, while troops have been placed in requisition".[54]

The Act passed in the Legislative Council was known as Act XI of 1860. It contained two provisions: a temporary measure to enforce the fulfilment of indigo contracts so that planters could complete their spring sowings, and provision for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, which would determine what permanent measures were needed to give equal and complete protection to ryots and planters alike.[55]

The editor of the Indian Empire, a newspaper closely connected with officialdom, stated, in July 1861, that the missionaries had been instrumental in bringing about the Commission of Inquiry.[56] But while the missionaries

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54. C.M.S. CI1/0185/65 Long to Parent Committee, 9 April 1860.
55. Kling, pp.267-282; Buckland Lieutenant-Governors, Vol.1, p.187.
56. Indian Empire, 24 July 1861.

may have helped to make the idea popular, it is fairly clear that the Government's final decision to set up a Commission was influenced largely by the outbreak of disturbances. The Government, faced with a crisis in indigo districts, was forced to adopt measures which would appease the ryots as well as the planters and make its legislation on indigo contracts acceptable to Indian opinion.[57]

In Calcutta excitement was running high. Hundreds of ryots from the indigo districts flooded into the city, apparently to present petitions to the Lieutenant-Governor. Some of these ryots called at Long's house on the C.M.S. mission premises. "God seems to be working for the ryots in this country in a way we did not calculate on", wrote Long in a letter to his Parent Committee. "Last Friday morning[58] while quietly reading a Sanskrit MSS with my pandit 50 ryots presented themselves at my door who had fled from Nuddea and Jessore Districts to escape the oppressions of the planters, they brought me a letter from Mr. Bomwetsch, — I could not turn the people away... so I went down to consult Dr. Duff on the question and he called at my house a meeting of some Missionary friends to consult what was to be done, there were present Dr.Duff,

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57. Kling, pp.267-282.
58. 20 April 1860.

Mr. Cuthbert, Sandys, Vaughan, Mr. Sale, a Baptist Missionary and myself along with a Native gentleman. We came to the conclusion unanimously that it was our duty as Missionaries to do what we could for these poor people Who cannot help themselves — that we repudiate taking up the question on any political ground but simply that Indigo Planting interferes with our own work as much as the Slave Trade does with Mission Work on the coast of Africa; Even the Redeemer himself healed all manner of diseases among the people. The men Musulmans and Hindus gave their Evidence before us and we were all struck with their straight forward, honest tone, — the Evidence has been taken down in Bengali, Dr. Duff will have it translated into English and copies will be sent to England."[59] The ryots stated "in the strongest language" their complaints about the indigo system. They claimed that Government officials were siding with the planters and were the planters' guests and that therefore they had no hope of redress in the Mofussil[60] and, quite possibly, they made other allegations as well. The missionaries, according to Long, advised the ryots to submit to the law and, above all, not to resist the planters and urged them to lay their case before the

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59. C.M.S. CI1/0185/66 Long to Parent Committee, 23 April 1860.
60. R.I.C., A1644 (Long).

authorities.[61]

Although Long's wide reading of vernacular publications, and his discussions with ryots, particularly in Krishnagar, and with planters and other missionaries, had long since convinced him of the evils of the indigo system, he had managed to preserve, even during the heated controversies of 1856, some semblance of impartiality and restraint in his public comments on the indigo question.[62] But as a result of this encounter with the ryots in April 1860, he seems to have found it almost impossible to suppress any longer his feelings of anger and indignation. Five days later, he wrote a letter to the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru under the pseudonym of "A Missionary". He stated that, in spite of what the daily press might say, he had information "from trustworthy sources" that peace in the Mofussil was "a peace procured by the dungeon and the stocks — by Magistrates pandering to the interests of the planters". The magistrate, he wrote, "gets good cheer" in the planter's house and, of course, "is not ungrateful enough to give a decision in favour of the ryot". He claimed that "a reign of terror" existed in certain districts, that "certain planters can make use of Black

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61. R.I.C., A1644 (Long) and C.M.S. CI1/0185/67 Long to Parent Committee, 18 June 1860.
62. R.I.C., A1625 (Long); Bengal Hurkaru, 20 May and 5 June 1856.

Holes as well as Saraja Dowla did, while the violation of their daughters will teach ryots how they complain of the Indigo sahib", and, referring to the Indigo Commission, he claimed that "well applied bribes and the black hole will make the ryot testify to anything the planter wishes".[63] This was probably Long's most outspoken public attack on the indigo system and the violence of his attack was recalled by the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru a few days before his trial for libel in the following year.[64]

In the first week of April 1860, the crisis in the indigo districts was considered at a meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. It was apparently at

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63. Bengal Hurkaru, 25 April 1860. The letter was written in Calcutta and the editor stated that the writer, an English missionary, who had "not been ashamed to give us his name", had been "within the last week" visited by a number of ryots who came to Calcutta. In July 1861, the editor again commented on the letter and informed readers that it was written by Long. /Bengal Hurkaru, 1 July 1861/ The outspokeness of the attack on European behaviour recalls Long's attack on the conduct of European troops during the Mutiny, and the correspondent's claim that the faults complained of lay not in individuals, but in the system, his description of the system as "a serfdom" and his claim that planters would bribe ryots called to give evidence before the Indigo Commission were statements made by Long on other occasions. /Bengal Hurkaru, 20 May 1856 and 4 June 1860; Friend of India, 27 June 1861./

64. Bengal Hurkaru, 1 July 1861.

this meeting that one member moved and another seconded that missionaries should withdraw from all connection with the indigo question.[65] However, no one at the meeting voted for the resolution.[66] Dr. Duff, always eloquent and persuasive, gave a powerful address and, according to Long, the Conference resolved "that while as Missionaries we have no direct concern with questions relating to social life yet that as respects Indigo Cultivation we could not remain neutral for it was a

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65. The attitude of these two missionaries critical of the position taken up by the great majority of their colleagues is probably shown in an article written by the Rev.George Pearce, a Baptist member of the Conference, published in the Calcutta Christian Observer in September 1861. He may well have been one of the missionaries who proposed or seconded the resolution. He argued that while the Krishnagar missionaries might have been justified in opposing indigo planting, the Calcutta missionaries should not have taken part in the agitation and had no real knowledge of conditions in indigo districts. He claimed that the ryots were in a better position than many of the missionaries imagined, he denied that indigo planting was a serious hindrance to the spread of Christianity, and he claimed that the sufferings of an "heathen" people were, in any case, punishment for sin and idolatry. And, while his colleagues contended that reform of the indigo planting system would prepare the way for evangelism and conversion, he expressed the view, already propounded by a number of Evangelicals in England, that conversion must precede reform. Reforms, he said, would result from changes in the life of individuals, who once they had accepted the Christian Gospel, would come to know their rights and be strengthened to overcome oppression. /C.C.O., vol.XXX, September 1861, pp.420-437./

66. C.M.S. CI1/0185/67 Long to Parent Committee, 18 June 1860.

great obstacle to the spread of our work inasmuch as it reduced the ryots to a condition of semi slavery and gave a very bad example in Europeans. The Missionary Conference", he continued, "considered that they were as much bound to enter on this question as Missionary bodies were on the subject of the Slave Trade or West Indie Slavery".[67]

The Conference then appointed a special Sub-Committee to watch over events and to take what steps were considered necessary. The members included Long, the Rev. Hill of the L.M.S. and the Rev. J. Sale, a Baptist.[68] The organization of this missionary Sub-Committee prepared the way for missionary and Government co-operation on the indigo question.

While Halliday, the previous Lieutenant-Governor, had been critical of the missionaries' approach to the indigo question, Grant's attitude was altogether different. Shortly after Long's appointment to the Sub-Committee, Grant sent him a lengthy letter explaining his views on the indigo question and expressing his appreciation of the part the missionaries were playing. "Permit me to express

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67. C.M.S. CI1/0185/65 Long to Parent Committee, 9 April 1860.
68. C.M.S. CI1/0185/65, CI1/0185/67 Long to Parent Committee, 9 April, 18 June 1860; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, June 1860, pp.195-198; Indian Field, 5 January 1861.

to you", he wrote, "the high respect I feel for the disinterested spirit of justice which induces you and others of your sacred calling to stand up for those who cannot make themselves heard at home or even I fear in India always — as they have a right to be heard. And I very sincerely trust for the sake of those dumb millions that you will none of you, neither now nor in future, relax in your exertions in this just cause."[69] Long was asked to an interview, and the next day he and the Lieutenant-Governor discussed arrangements for the proposed Indigo Commission.[70] The views of the missionary Sub-Committee on how this Commission should function were presented officially in the form of a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor a fortnight later.[71] The Committee pointed out that the Government had made no provision to represent the ryots on the Commission, that the ryots who gave evidence should be protected from fear of the consequences and that the proceedings of the Commission should not be published until the investigation had been complete.

The Government did not accede to all these requests,

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69. Quoted in CI1/0185/66 Long to Parent Committee, 23 April 1860.
70. C.M.S. CI1/0185/66 Long to Parent Committee, 23 April 1860.
71. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, June 1860, pp.195-198.

but decided to appoint the Rev. Sale, one of the missionary Sub-Committee, to the Indigo Commission to represent the ryots. A missionary was put on the Commission, wrote Canning in a letter to Sir Charles Wood, "because it was desirable to make the Commission as nearly Representative of the conflicting interests as possible, and a Missionary is, or is supposed to be, the nearest approach to a champion of the Ryot interest. Mr. Sale", he added, "is a very sensible quiet man, and is fulfilling his special duty in the Commission without offence to anybody".[72] Other members of the Indigo Commission were Chunder Mohun Chatterjee — a zamindar — nominated by the British Indian Association, W.F.Fergusson to represent the planters and two official nominees, W.S. Seton-Karr,[73] who acted as President, and Richard

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72. H.P. Canning to Wood, 17 July 1860. An editorial in the pro-planter Bengal Hurkaru (14 May 1860) described Sale as "too good a Missionary to be exactly the man we would have chosen to sift evidence and take a large view of the question."

73. W.S. Seton-Karr was educated at Rugby and Haileybury and went to Bengal in the Civil Service in 1842. He was Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal in 1847-53 and Secretary in 1860-61. He was a man of undoubted ability, could speak Bengali fluently and was interested in Bengali literature. He was on the Vernacular Literature Committee with Long in the 1850's. Soon after her arrival in India, Lady Canning noted in her diary that she thought him "very priggish" and that she could not believe "that old man to be only 35!" /See especially C.E. Buckland Dictionary of Indian Biography; Friend of India, 16 May 1861; H.C. Lady Canning's Diary, 1856-1858, back of p.245./

Temple.

The Commission, which began hearing evidence in Calcutta on 18 May 1860, examined 134 witnesses. Of these 15 were officials, 21 planters or ex-planters, 8 missionaries, 13 zamindars and talukdars and 77 ryots. The missionaries followed the proceedings with very great interest[74] and were amongst the first to be examined. Their evidence generally confirmed the idea that indigo cultivation was forced and unprofitable to the ryots.[75] Of the missionary evidence, Long's was perhaps the most compelling — the most likely to frighten Government officials into reform. Like most of the other witnesses examined before the Commission, most of the missionaries spoke of their own personal experience in indigo districts; but Long, because of his knowledge and regular reading of the vernacular press, was able to generalize about the state of Bengali feeling on the indigo question. He referred not only to newspapers, but to popular dramas and ballads, and argued that these literary sources showed that popular feeling on the indigo question was explosive. "I can assure the Commissioners",

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74. Members of the missionary Sub-Committee, including Long, followed proceedings of the Commission from the public gallery as often as possible. /Indian Field, 5 January 1861./

75. The Rev.Schurr, Lincké, Bomwetsch, Blumhardt, Long and Cuthbert of the C.M.S. and the Revs.Anderson (B.M.S.) and S.J. Hill (L.M.S.) gave evidence before the Commission.

he said, "that no language can depict the burning indignation, with which indigo planting is and has been regarded by the native population. It alarms me seriously for the future peace of India, unless an equitable adjustment of the question is made."[76] Long's evidence did excite a good deal of attention in official circles.[77] Canning, who later interviewed Long on the question of the vernacular press was, like some other Government officials, well aware that Europeans had been abysmally ignorant of Indian public opinion before the Mutiny and had, as a result, been caught unprepared.[78]

As was expected, the Commission did not report favourably on indigo planting. It recommended "complete reform of the system", including changes in the terms of contract between planters and ryots and reform of the police and judicial system.

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76. R.I.C., A1625, A1626.
77. R.I.C., (14); C.M.S. CI1/0185/68 Long to Parent Committee, 19 July 1860.
78. "None are more surprised at what has happened at Meerut than those who know the Sepoys best", wrote Canning in a letter to Granville in May 1857, "and I have lost entirely all confidence in the commanding officers of regiments, who with scarcely an exception swear to the fidelity of their men, and when the scoundrel is caught in the act have nothing to say but'Who'd have thought it'." /Canning to Granville, 19 May 1857, quoted in M. Maclagan Clemency Canning, London 1962, p.88./

The planters, in an almost desperate mood, poured scorn on Grant,[79] Seton-Karr and on witnesses who had given evidence against them. The missionaries were denounced even before the Commission began, during proceedings and after. "No body of men", wrote the editor of the Hindoo Patriot, "have been more bitterly or more grossly or more indecently attacked by the organs of the indigo manufacturing interest in Bengal than the Christian Missionaries settled in the country."[80] They were once again roundly abused and their evidence was discounted as fabrication and slander.[81] Their motives were impeached, their work was disparaged and their statements were misrepresented.[82] They were accused of persuading the ryots not to sow, of inflaming the ryots and educated classes against the planters and, as usual, of causing rebellion.[83] Schurr, Bomwetsch,[84] Cuthbert, Long and

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79. They were hoping to have him removed from office.
80. Quoted in C.C.O.,vol.XXX, February 1861, p.83.
81. Bengal Hurkaru, 21 June 1860.
82. Bengal Hurkaru, 11 February, 4, 18, 22 June 1860; Englishman, 1 June, 6 July 1860. Some idea of how far missionary statements were sometimes misrepresented can be gained by comparing Long's original statements in Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club (25 May 1860) with the editorial comment in the Bengal Hurkaru, 10 July 1860. See also Long's reply, Bengal Hurkaru, 12 July 1860, and Cuthbert's original comment in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, May 1856, p.157 (footnote) with what he was reported to have written in Bengal Hurkaru, 27 March 1860; Englishman, 14 June 1860.
83. Bengal Hurkaru, 11 February, 6, 19 March, 18 June, 10, 30 July, 1 August 1860; Englishman, 13, 31 July 1860.
84. "a man who has almost sold his soul in defence of natives" /Bengal Hurkaru, 7 September 1860./

even Duff were singled out for special attention.

Long's evidence was described as "hearsay", was said to contradict his book on Bengali publications and to contain "no facts at all".[85] He was also attacked for intervening in the proceedings when Bomwetsch was being cross examined about allegations that a Bengali village girl, named Haromani, had been kidnapped and raped by factory servants.[86] Long, who must have been extremely agitated and apparently spoke from the gallery, declared that the planters would attempt to subborn or suppress the evidence at any cost.

But Long was not denounced by the planters during this period merely for his statements and activities in connection with the Indigo Commission, he was also attacked as a result of two of his publications. In about June 1860, Long's report on Bengali literature was published by the Government and the editor of the Bengal

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85. Englishman, 14 June 1860; Bengal Hurkaru, 21 June 1861.
86. This story was first told to Bomwetsch in Long's house by Haromani's husband's brother, in the presence of witnesses from the woman's village /R.I.C., A967, A968/. According to Dr. Kling (pp.172-173) the true facts of the case are difficult to determine. The magistrate, after a thorough investigation, reported that although the case of abduction was clearly proven, the charge of rape was totally false. However, the story, which was given a great deal of publicity in Indian newspapers, strengthened feelings against the planters.

Hurkaru, in his review, criticized him for giving a translation of a ballad against the appointment of indigo planters as honorary magistrates, for stating that "the feelings of all classes of natives are strong against Indigo planters" and for quoting comments critical of indigo planters in an Indian newspaper as far back as 1850. "If these were Mr. Long's or the native editor's opinions, they would not be worth noticing", wrote the editor, "but the Government of Bengal has no right to allow its public records to be made the vehicle of insult, slander and misrepresentation".[87] The second publication (which has been discussed in an earlier chapter) was a report of Long's address to the all-Bengali Family Literary Club in May 1860.[88] In the course of his address, he made several references to indigo planters and claimed that ryots in indigo factories were "cheated by fictitious accounts and false debts", and that in the North West Provinces the indigo planter could not exercise the same "tyrannical power over the ryot"as was exercised by him in Bengal. The editors of the Englishman and the Bengal Hurkaru seized upon the address as proof that missionaries like Long were politically dangerous and had been whipping up feeling against the planters. "This pamphlet", stated

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87. Bengal Hurkaru, 1 June 1860.
88. See pp.229-232.

the Bengal Hurkaru, "has explained to us what we could never understand before, which is the hatred and abuse of Planters and planting which pervades the conversations and thoughts of all educated natives in the metropolis, men who never saw a plant of indigo or spoke with a Planter. No wonder that this should be the case, if Mr. Long and his brethren have been preaching sedition like the above, instead of Christ, in the streets and lanes of Calcutta for the last sixteen years."[89]

But while the missionaries, especially those of the C.M.S., were denounced by the planters — accused of becoming political agitators and of "stirring up every species of strife between the Planters and the ryots",[90] they were exonerated by the Indigo Commission. "If to express dislike of what they deem oppression, when forced on their notice, and to stand up for the rights of those who have had no tongue to plead for them, be to carry on agitation", stated the Commission, "the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have done this. But, in so doing, they had no private interests to advance, and no political object to gain, except the contentment and well-being of the agricultural population; objects which, if political, any man, however sacred his calling, may

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89. Bengal Hurkaru, 10 July 1860; Englishman, 13 July 1860.
90. Mofussilite, 21 September 1860.

fairly exert himself to forward." The Commissioners stated that it would have been "ungenerous and even unmanly" of missionaries like the Rev. Blumhardt to turn a deaf ear to the ryots' complaints and concluded that "the assertion that the refusal of the ryots to sow indigo has been produced by the preaching of Missionaries, is one entirely without foundation of truth".[91]

The Lieutenant-Governor officially expressed his admiration of the missionaries' conduct "throughout these

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91. R.I.C., (120-122). Towards the end of 1860, the C.M.S. Parent Committee carefully examined the question of politics and missions and formally approved the conduct of its Bengal missionaries in the indigo dispute. Detailed instructions were given to missionaries about to leave for the mission field and these instructions were printed and sent to C.M.S. missionaries in India. The Committee distinguished between political questions on the one hand and semi-political or mixed questions, such as national education, slavery and the treatment of aborigines, on the other, and argued that missionaries had a perfect right to take up the semi-political type of question which involved "the great principles of justice, humanity and Christian duty". However, the Committee advised missionaries against taking up supposed grievances too hastily and stated that, if missionaries were unavoidably involved in questions having a political aspect, they should guard against "a political spirit", should avoid having recourse to public censure and newspaper invective and should exercise tact and show respect for authority. These comments appear to have been well received by the Society's missionaries in Bengal. /C.M.S. CI1/L5 Venn to Long, 7 March 1861; W. Knight Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn, London 1880, pp.468-477; C.M.S. CI1/0185/71 Long to Parent Committee, 25 March 1861./

trying events"[92] and the missionaries were praised in at least a section of the Indian press. The Hindoo Patriot argued that they had been extremely valuable witnesses. "There could be, in a cause enveloped in a cloud of party views and conflicting statements, no witnesses more impartial, more disinterested, or higher above the sinister influences to which witnesses are exposed", wrote the editor. "Their European education combined with their intimate knowledge of rayat life, imparted to their testimony an intelligence which the freer complaints of the rayats and native landholders lacked. On the whole, the evidence of the Missionaries given before the Indigo Commission is calculated to make the deepest impression, and it has already made that impression wherever it has been read or heard."[93] The Indian Field, which was under joint Indian and European management and, like the Hindoo Patriot, championed the cause of the ryots in the indigo controversy, also defended the missionaries and stated that their conduct during the indigo crisis "challenges the admiration of all candid and unprejudiced men", and the Somprokash, one of the leading vernacular journals, praised the missionaries for encouraging and comforting

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92. J.P. Grant, Minute, in Buckland Bengal Under the Lieutenant-Governors, vol.I, p.255.
93. Quoted in C.C.O., vol.XXX, February 1861, p.83.

the ryots.[94]

Missionaries themselves remarked on changes in the attitude of Bengalis towards missionary activity in both Calcutta and the Mofussil, as a result of the missionary stand on the indigo question. In June 1860 Long, writing from Calcutta, noted that "the Natives now see that we Missionaries are not "partakers with other men's sins, but rather reprove them" — and Natives hostile to Christianity are beginning to see that Christian love to all men independently of their color is a reality, and that the Missionary is the best friend of the Hindus both in temporal and spiritual things."[95] "The result of the "Indigo question"," wrote the Rev. Lincké from Krishnagar, "has made a most favourable impression both upon Hindoos & Musalmans in these parts of the country in regard to the Missionaries. They, considering the Missionaries as the chief cause or instrument, by which these favourable results have been brought about, can not speak highly enough in their praise, & are in a manner ready & willing to listen to their preaching & teaching".[96] The Rev. Bomwetsch, also from Krishnagar, made similar comments.[97]

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94. Indian Field, 5 January 1861; Somprokash, 17 June 1861 (translated by the Rev. Bomwetsch, C.M.S. CI1/050/58).
95. C.M.S. CI1/0185/67 Long to Parent Committee, 18 June 1860. See also CI1/0185/70, CI1/0185/71 Long to Parent Committee, 8 December 1860, 23 March 1861.
96. C.M.S. CI1/0180/52 Lincké's Annual Letter, 20 December 1860.
97. C.M.S. CI1/050/5C Bomwetsch to Parent Committee, 6 July 1861.

Part II
The Nil Darpan and the Trial of Long for Libel

Early in 1861, while on a visit to Baraset, north of Calcutta, Long received a copy of the Nil Darpan, or Mirror of Indigo, a Bengali drama which had become remarkably popular in indigo districts. It was printed in Dacca and a copy was forwarded to Long by the author Dinabandhu Mitra,[98] through the Deputy Magistrate of Baraset.[99]

The play, one of Dinabandhu's first, was a satire on the indigo system and portrayed what was thought to be the effects of the system on a ryot family. In the author's introduction and in the play itself almost every section of the community which supported the indigo system, European and Bengali, was held up to scorn and ridicule. Newspaper editors, magistrates, planters and factory servants were attacked for exercising or supporting tyranny and

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98. Dinabandhu, while still a student in Calcutta, began to write in Bengali and contribute articles to the Sambad Prabhakar edited by Iswar Gupta. After leaving school he entered Government service and in 1855 went to Patna as Postmaster. Within two years he became Inspector of Post Offices in Orissa and was subsequently stationed in Nadia and Dacca where he must have had plenty of opportunity of observing the effects of the indigo planting system on the peasant population. /Buckland Dictionary of Indian Biography./

99. Annual Report, C.M.R., vol.VII, new series, November 1862, p.342; Indian Field, 3 August 1861.

corruption. A great deal of attention was focussed on the violence and oppression of two fictitious indigo planters, Wood and Rose. The attempt by Rose to violate the Bengali woman Khetromani recalled the alleged incident involving Horamani widely discussed in indigo districts and carefully considered by the Indigo Commission. But while those who supported the indigo system were condemned, others like the Governor-General, Grant and the missionaries, were praised for their wisdom, sympathy or sense of justice.[100]

When Long returned to Calcutta, he brought the Nil Darpan to the notice of Seton-Karr, Secretary to the Government of Bengal and ex-President of the Indigo Commission. Long had for sometime been in the habit of showing Government officials important vernacular publications which he believed reflected the state of Bengali opinion.[101] Moreover, he felt a special obligation to draw Seton-Karr's attention to the Nil Darpan, as the situation was again extremely serious in indigo districts and he feared a large scale peasant revolt.[102] The play, he believed, expressed the ryots'

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100. Nil Darpan, English translation, 1861 edition.
101. Seton-Karr to Government of Bengal, 29 July 1861 in Buckland Bengal Under the Lieutenant-Governors, Vol.I, p.199; C.M.S. CI1/M16 Frere to Long, 18 July 1861.
102. C.M.S. CI1/0185/71 Long to Parent Committee, 23 March 1861; Englishman, 29 July 1861.

intense hatred of the indigo system — a feeling no Government interested in preserving peace on the basis of justice could possibly ignore.

Seton-Karr was interested. He bought himself a copy from a hawker commissioned by the author to sell the book and, after a conversation with Long and the hawker, was satisfied that the Nil Darpan was in fact a genuine Bengali production.[103] He was not impressed with the play as a work of art, but like Long, convinced of its importance as an expression of popular feeling on the indigo question, he mentioned it to the Lieutenant-Governor.[104] Grant, in the course of his conversation with Seton-Karr, expressed a wish to see a translation, suggested that some copies might be printed, but did not make it clear that he wanted only a few copies printed and that these were to be circulated privately among friends.[105]

After his discussion with Grant, Seton-Karr asked Long to arrange for the translation into English. This

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103. Friend of India, 8 August 1861.
104. ibid.; Seton-Karr to Government of Bengal in Buckland Lieutenant-Governors, vol.1, pp.199-200.
105. Seton-Karr to Government of Bengal and Grant's Minute, submitted to Governor-General. Buckland Lieutenant-Governors, Vol.1, pp.198-200.

was made by Michael Datta under Long's supervision.[106] Long as editor, used the knife somewhat freely in cutting out some of the coarser passages.[107] He also wrote a short preface in which he stated, among other things, that the play "describes a respectable ryot, a peasant proprietor, happy with his family in the enjoyment of his land till the Indigo System compelled him to take advances, to neglect his own land, to cultivate crops which beggared him, reducing him to the condition of a serf and vagabond; the effect of this on his home, children and relatives are pointed out in language plain but true..."[108] These words "plain but true", were subsequently used by the planters in their prosecution of Long for libel.

When the translation of the play was complete, Seton-Karr ordered the printing, but instead of ordering a few copies as Grant had intended, he asked for 500. He and Long then drew up distribution lists of

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106. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Long to Bishop Cotton, 24 August 1861; C.M.S. CI1/0185/75 Long to Parent Committee, 15 August 1861. Michael Madhusudan Datta (1824-73) was one of the greatest nineteenth century Bengali poets and dramatists. He was strongly influenced by European ideas and literature and, in the years 1858 to 1862, developed blank verse and the sonnet and wrote a number of plays in the modern western style which gave great impetus to Bengali drama. /J.C. Ghosh Bengali Literature, London 1948, pp.136-147./

107. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Pratt, 13 August 1861; CI1/M16 Long to Bishop Cotton, 24 August 1861.

108. Nil Darpan (1861 ed.).

individuals and organizations which they thought should receive copies of the play.[109] Long's list included the names of a number of prominent philanthropists and philanthropic societies in England.[110] Seton-Karr's list included the names of many Government officials and also a short list of newspaper editors in England and India.[111] Finally, quite unknown to the Lieutenant-Governor, Seton-Karr began sending out copies of the play in official Government envelopes franked "On Her Majesty's Service."[112]

On 25 May, the Committee of the Landholders' and Commercial Association, which represented the planters, was informed from Lahore that a pamphlet containing "a foul and malicious libel" on the Calcutta daily newspapers and the indigo planters of Lower Bengal, had been circulated under the frank of the Government of Bengal.[113]

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109. Seton-Karr to Government of Bengal in Buckland Lieutenant-Governors, vol.1, p.200.
110. Bengal Hurkaru, 23 July 1861.
111. ibid.
112. Seton-Karr to Government of Bengal in Buckland Lieutenant-Governors, vol.1, p.200; H.P. Canning to Wood, 23 June 1861. As a result of the public outcry that followed, circulation of the play was immediately stopped. No more than 14 copies were circulated in India and in consequence, wrote Macleod Wylie, a Calcutta judge, and Secretary of the Governor-General's Council, "few persons have seen it, but most persons join in the clamour because they think it as bad as it is represented". /C.M.S. CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861; Friend of India, 8 August 1861./
113. Bengal Hurkaru, 29 July 1861.

W.F. Fergusson, Secretary of the Association, wrote immediately to the Government. He asked whether the publication had been circulated with the sanction and authority of the Government of Bengal. He also asked for the names of the parties who had circulated "a foul and malicious libel on Indigo Planting, tending to excite sedition and breaches of the peace," so that they might be prosecuted "with the utmost rigour of the law".[114]

The circulation of the play was also reported in the Englishman, edited by one of the planters, Walter Brett. He assured readers that the Government of Bengal had been desseminating a work which contained "the grossest libels upon Mofussil Europeans, male and female" and "incendiary charges against indigo planters as a class". He quoted a passage in the author's preface which stated that the editors of two daily newspapers were paid to support the planters. He also quoted other extracts attacking the planters and a passage referring to a planter's wife. She was said to have influence with the magistrate and, in the opinion of one of the characters, "had no shame at all", as she accompanied the magistrate on horseback during his rides about the village.[115] Copies of the play, stated the editor of the Englishman, had already been sent to England, "to be worked in secret like other poisons".[116]

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114. Englishman, 28, 31 May 1861.
115. ibid., 27 May 1861.
116. ibid., 31 May 1861.

The Lieutenant-Governor eventually replied to the planters' letter on 3 June. He argued that the publication was not a libel — that indigo planters were not the only class, Indian or European, criticised in the play. He expressed regret that the official franking had caused offence, but ignored the planters' request for the names of the parties involved.[117]

The planters considered this reply quite unsatisfactory and decided to institute legal proceedings "with a view to ascertaining the authors and publishers of the Nil Darpan and the translation of it".[118] On 11 June, C.H. Manuel, the printer, and the only person whose name was on the pamphlet, was indicted in the Supreme Court. He pleaded guilty, but his Counsel (acting on Long's advice) named Long as the person who had given Manuel a copy of the play and given all the instructions with regard to its publication. The printer was fined only nominal damages and the planters decided to prosecute Long for libel in a Criminal suit.[119]

As a result of this decision, and because of frequent attacks made on him in Calcutta journals over the previous

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117. Englishman, 6 June 1861.
118. ibid.
119. ibid., 12 June 1861; Bengal Hurkaru, 12 June 1861; Calcutta Review, March - June 1861, Vol.XXXVI, p.355.

18 months, Long issued a Statement in the press explaining his connection with the Nil Darpan.[120] He stressed the point that Europeans interested in preserving peace based on the contentment of the Indian population, could not afford to disregard popular feeling, and that "it is folly to shut our eyes to the warnings the native press may give". He drew attention to the Nil Darpan, he wrote, not because of prejudice against planters, but because it was an important expression of feeling on the indigo question.

This Statement did not prevent Long's trial, but it did produce a swing among moderate Europeans in Long's favour. "It is well known", wrote one observer, "that on the appearance of this statement most moderate men in Calcutta, including not a few of the merchants, and even some of the Landowners' Association, wished the prosecution to be discontinued".[121] Sir Bartle Frere, one of Canning's closest advisers, who up to that time had been sympathetic to the planters,[122] wrote in a letter to Long that "Your explanation must I think satisfy all unprejudiced people".[123] The Friend of India, now under George Smith,[124] a new editor somewhat sympathetic to the planters, argued that Long's

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120. Friend of India, 27 June 1861.
121. C.C.O., vol.XXX, August 1861, p.352.
122. J. Martineau The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere, London 1895, vol.I, p.361.
123. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Frere to Long, 18 July 1861.
124. Kling, p.254.

Statement should have been made weeks before, but stated that his explanation would be regarded as satisfactory in so far as his motives were concerned.[125]

Some of the more vocal sections of the Bengali community were already mobilizing in Long's support. An article appearing in the Somprokash, one of the most important vernacular journals, poured scorn on the planters for their decision to prosecute Long for libel, maintained that there was nothing libellous in the play and concluded with an appeal to Bengalis to assist Long in every possible way.[126] The Indian Field, a joint Bengali and European English-language publication, commended Long's Statement in the press and drew particular attention to "the immense importance of an intimate acquaintance on the part of the rulers of the land and of leaders of public opinion with the true state of public feeling". The editor then argued that the occasional circulation of such works as the Nil Darpan, whether all the allegations advanced in them were true or false, was almost a necessity in India.[127]

A few days before his trial, Long received an address

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125. Friend of India, 27 June 1861. The Governor-General, thanking Long for a copy of his Statement, described it as "clear and temperate" /H.C. Bowing (Private Secretary to Canning) to Long, 27 June 1861./
126. C.M.S. CI1/050/58 article dated 17 June 1861 translated by the Rev. Bomwetsch.
127. Indian Field, 6 July 1861.

of sympathy from a number of leading Bengalis resident in Calcutta. The names of the four leading signatories were printed in the newspapers and at least three were members of the British Indian Association. They were Radhakanta Deb, President of the Association and leader of the orthodox Hindu community, Ramanath Tagore, Vice-President, and Kali Krishna. They commended Long for his work in connection with vernacular literature and for "disseminating the views and feelings of the Natives on topics of administration and Social improvement as reflected through the medium of the Vernacular press". They stressed the importance of the Government consulting Indian opinion in matters of legislation and administration, and endorsed Long's statement that peace must be founded on the contentment of the Indian population. In their concluding remarks, they expressed the fear that, if the Nil Darpan was declared a libel, then "the most ancient and best classics of our land, which are so justly valued all the world over would remain sealed from public view" and finally, in order to refute some of the comments in the European press, they repeated the point that Long had already made, that the Nil Darpan was a genuine expression of Bengali feeling on the subject of indigo planting.[128]

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128. Bengal Hurkaru, 19 July 1861; Buckland Dictionary.

Just before his trial, Long also received notes of sympathy and encouragement from European friends.[129] Dr. Duff, still one of Long's closest friends, wrote to Mrs. Long. "I purposely write to you this morning", he began, "because knowing your tenderness of nature, I know you will be filled with womanly anxieties about your husband. I write therefore to sympathize with you as well as with him, in his present painful position. What ought to sustain you & him, & his friends, is this — that whatever indiscretion or imprudence in the estimation of the worldly wise, may have mingled up with the business, the motives, the intentions of your husband in the matter, were upright & honourable. On his part it was his interest in the poor & oppressed, as against the rich & the strong oppressor, which led to his acting the part he did.

"And whatever may be the decision of man-made law on the matter, my conviction is that, your husband will be acquitted by a higher law of right & love; as well as by the concurring judgment of enlightened Christian men. That ought to console both you and him. The course pursued towards him is really that of vindictive persecution, and I cannot help believing that, in some way or another, the Lord will disappoint his adversaries and cover them

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129. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Frere to Long, 18 July 1861, CI1/M16 Wylie to Long, 19 July 1861.

with confusion".[130]

The trial opened in the Supreme Court of Calcutta on 19 July 1861. The large crowd which packed into the courtroom every day of the proceedings, included Bengalis and Europeans, civil servants, military officers, members of the press, trades-people, missionaries, clergy, planters and many others.[131] The special jury was composed almost entirely of Europeans.[132] Long was charged on two counts: of libelling the editor of the Englishman and of libelling the indigo planters of Lower Bengal.[133] In Sir Bartle Frere's opinion, Eglinton, Counsel for the Defence, was not particularly competent and showed "a marked want of that nerve and presence of mind which, in such trials, is more useful than any amount of law". But he described Eglinton's opposite number, Peterson, Counsel for the Prosecution, as "the weightiest advocate in any jury case".[134] Peterson had resigned from the General Committee of the Landholders' and Commercial Association in order to act as the planters' legal adviser.[135] In his opening address,

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130. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Duff to Mrs.Long, 19 July 1861.
131. Bengal Hurkaru, 20 July 1861; Englishman, 22 July 1861; Calcutta Review, March - June 1861, vol.XXXVI, p.355.
132. Englishman, 22 July 1861; Bengal Hurkaru, 20 July 1861; Friend of India, 25 July 1861.
133. Friend of India, 25 July 1861.
134. H.P. Frere to Wood, 4 December 1861.
135. Englishman, 28 May 1861.

which lasted for nearly four hours, he argued that Long was the translator as well as the publisher of the Nil Darpan, and that Long had in fact written the passage attacking newspaper editors in the author's preface. In the course of his address, Peterson attempted to turn the case into a racial issue. The play, he said, affected not just planters, but every Englishman in India, and was calculated to set one race against the other. The avowed object of the drama was, he claimed, "to excite the feelings of the natives and to ridicule the planters; /to show/ that virtue alone was to be found in the native population; that Englishmen were the curses of the country."[136]

In his final address to the jury, the judge, Sir Mordaunt Wells, narrowed the issue down to the question of motive. He stated that if the jury believed "that the defendant had published and circulated the book in question for the interests of society and that he conscientiously believed that the publication of such a book would tend to bring about a reform of the indigo system, and was acting in a bona fide manner, he would be entitled to a verdict of acquittal. If on the other hand they were satisfied from the contents of the book and the manner of publication and circulation, that the defendant had been actuated by a

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136. Bengal Hurkaru, 22 July 1861.

feeling of animosity towards the planters of Lower Bengal with a view of degrading, injuring and bringing this class into contempt and ridicule — for in that case the law would infer malice on the part of the defendant, /then/ the verdict must be guilty."[137] The jury then retired, and on coming into the court, returned a verdict of guilty on both counts.

Long's Counsel immediately moved for an arrest of judgment. His arguments, based on the contention that the Nil Darpan was not a libel, were heard before the full Bench of Judges in the Supreme Court four days later. However they were overruled by the Chief Justice, Sir Barnes Peacock.[138] Sir Mordaunt Wells asked Long if he had anything to say in mitigation of punishment. Long

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137. Bengal Hurkaru, 23 July 1861.
138. Sir Barnes Peacock made his reputation in England by obtaining the acquittal of Daniel O'Connell on appeal to the House of Lords in 1844. He was legal member of the Supreme Council in India from April 1852 to June 1859 and was in charge of the Indian Penal Code when it became law. In 1859 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. /Buckland Dictionary, R.C. Sanyal Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India, Part I, p.132; H.P. Frere to Wood, 4 December 1861./

replied that he wished to make a statement. Permission was granted, and Long, reading to the court, began to explain his views and reasons for publishing the Nil Darpan, but, when he came to the section in which he explained that the social condition of the ryots and the irreligious conduct of Englishmen were great obstacles to the spread of Christianity, the Chief Justice interposed and stopped him, on the ground that what he was saying was irrelevant. Long then put in an affidavit (the Statement he made in the Friend of India on the 27 June) deposing on oath his motives for publishing the Nil Darpan and Sir Mordaunt Wells concluded by passing sentence — a fine of 1,000 rupees and one month's imprisonment in the Common Jail of Calcutta.[139]

Immediately the sentence was pronounced, Kaliprosanna Sinha, a well known Bengali writer and millionaire, stepped forward and paid the fine.[140] According to Dr. Duff other Bengalis present had been ready to do the same, "even if the fine imposed had been five or ten times the amount".[141]

The jury's verdict in Long's trial is not altogether surprising. They were badly informed and were not put in possession of some of the most important facts of the case.

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139. Bengal Hurkaru, 25 July 1861.
140. M. Ghosh Memoirs of Kali Prossunno Singh, Calcutta 1920, p.68.
141. Letter, 8 August, quoted in C.M.S. Minute on the Conviction and Imprisonment of the Rev.James Long for Libel, London 1861.

It was only after the trial was over, that Seton-Karr informed the public that Long had been acting as his agent — that the play had been translated at his (Seton-Karr's) request and that he alone was responsible for circulating the Nil Darpan under Government frank.[142] Secondly, the jury were under considerable pressure from Sir Mordaunt Wells to return a verdict of guilty. Even some of the planters were shocked by the bias of his summing up.[143] Sir Bartle Frere, who had previously sympathized with the planters, was disgusted and Canning wrote in a letter to Sir Charles Wood "I am assured that none of the reports do justice — or anything like it — to Wells's demeanor in questioning the witnesses, and to the indecent partizanship of his summing up."[144] Wells went beyond the terms of the indictment and accused the prisoner of giving publicity to a "foul libel against the women of England" and of injuring the reputation of "every European in the country, be he planter, civilian or soldier".[145] Like the Counsel for the Prosecution, he played up the jury's racial prejudice and moral feelings and, in the opinion of the Hindoo Patriot, "virtually dictated a verdict to men who are never

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142. Seton-Karr to Government of Bengal, Buckland Lieutenant-Governors, vol.I, p.200.
143. H.P. Canning to Wood, 31 July 1861.
144. H.P. Frere to Wood, 9 August 1861; Canning to Wood, 31 July 1861.
145. Bengal Hurkaru, 23 July 1861.

guilty of opinions of their own".[146]

The real reason for the planters' prosecution of Long for libel was clearly stated by Sir Bartle Frere in correspondence with Sir Charles Wood. Frere's evidence is invaluable as he was in direct contact with planters and had access to inside information.[147] "The avowed object of the Planters was," he wrote, "to place Mr. Seton-Karr, and even the Lt.Govr , if possible, at the Bar of the Supreme Court — and it was notoriously their intention to indict Mr. Seton-Karr at the sessions next following Mr. Long's trial."[148] It was quite well known even before the trial began that the planters were attempting to strike a blow through Long at Government officials.[149] According to the Englishman, Long was "a tool of the Bengal Government" and his trial was seen by many, not merely as a clash between indigo planters and an individual missionary, but between indigo planters and the Government.[150]

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146. Hindoo Patriot, 6 August 1861. The Rev.Stuart even went so far as to write in a confidential letter to Henry Venn, that if the judge had not swayed the jury "by his gross & intemperate harangue about the imputation on English women, which excited the whole Anglo-Indian population of Calcutta almost to madness against Mr. Long", he had little doubt that a verdict of acquittal would have been brought in. /C.M. S. CI1/0281/51 Stuart to Venn, 2 November 1861./
147. H.C. Frere to Canning, 7 August 1861.
148. H.P. Frere to Wood, 4 December 1861.
149. Indian Field, 6 July 1861.
150. Englishman, 22 July 1861; Calcutta Review, March to June 1861, Vol.XXXVI, pp.355-356 .

There is some evidence to suggest that the planters were hoping that Long would follow Manuel, the printer's example, and name some other person (in this case Seton-Karr) as being more fully responsible for the translation and publication of the Nil Darpan. On the very day the trial began, the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru, Alexander Forbes, the ex-planter and member of the Landholders' Association, made a dramatic last minute appeal. He stated that no one blamed Long for the translation and added "We all know that Mr. Long did not print and publish the Nil Darpan. We know that Missionaries are not so highly paid as to be able to pay for the translating, printing and publishing of five hundred copies of a thick pamphlet from their own funds, not one copy of this edition being intended for sale. We hope therefore that Mr. Long's counsel will persuade him to follow the same course as Mr. Manuel's did, and insist upon the real publisher coming forward."[151]

Some of Long's friends also urged him to come forward and save himself by stating all that he knew of the Government's connection with the Nil Darpan. However, it was reported that Long refused to do this on the grounds that he had been partly responsible for what had happened.[152]

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151. Bengal Hurkaru, 19 July 1861.
152. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861.

In Canning's opinion, Long should have been saved from prosecution, either by the Lieutenant-Governor, who could have delivered a timely and sufficient rebuke to his Secretary or by Seton-Karr himself, who could and should have come forward with a public explanation and apology before, and not after, Long's trial was over.[153]

As it happened Seton-Karr and not Long was saved from prosecution, as after Long's trial, the planters completely abandoned all idea of further proceedings. Some of the more moderate planters in the Landholders' Association were ashamed of the way the trial had been conducted and wanted nothing more to do with libel cases, and their arguments were perhaps strengthened by Seton-Karr's public apology. But, even so, the moderate party in the Association could not muster enough support to defeat the extremists until Canning published his well known Resolution[154] on the Nil Darpan case on 8 August 1861. In this Resolution he condemned Seton-Karr for neglect of duty and stated that he would not be permitted to return to the position he had previously held as Secretary to the Bengal Government.[155] The extremist planters in the Association found the ground cut from under their feet

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153. H.P. Canning to Wood, 22 August, 18 October 1861.
154. H.P. Frere to Wood, 4 December 1861; H.C. Frere to Canning, 7 August 1861.
155. Reprinted in Buckland Lieutenant-Governors, vol.1, pp.202-205.

and, in the words of Sir Bartle Frere, "the moderate party plucked up courage, and aided by a large number who had felt sincerely aggrieved, but were now satisfied, carried a resolution that all further proceedings should be dropped, and so the matter ended".[156]

While it appears that the planters regarded the Government as the main offender in the Nil Darpan case and prosecuted Long in the hope of striking at Government officials, it should not be assumed that the planters had no hostile feelings against Long himself. They recognized that Long had been one of the most outspoken critics of the indigo planting system and were probably glad to have him placed in the dock. They were aware that he had brought the Nil Darpan to the Government's notice and that he had helped to send copies of the play to some of their influential opponents in England. Moreover, Long was a missionary, and the part missionaries had played in the indigo controversy was not easily forgotten. During the trial, the Counsel for the Prosecution drew attention to their past activity. He stated that the word mischief had become synonymous with missionary, and that the court must know the amount of disturbance that had been caused by missionary interference both in Demerara and the Cape.[157]

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156. H.P. Frere to Wood, 4 December 1861.
157. Bengal Hurkaru, 22 July 1861; Friend of India, 25 July 1861; Calcutta Review, March to June 1861, Vol.XXXVI, pp.356-359.

Long was not only a missionary, but one of those who had given damaging evidence against the planters before the Indigo Commission. Finally, the planters' feelings against Long were possibly intensified because of his public criticism of English settlers in general, because of his attitude towards Indian traditions and culture and because, up to a point, he championed the political and legal rights of the Indian population.

Part III
Reactions to the Nil Darpan Case

Long was confined to rooms in the Common Jail of Calcutta on 24 July 1861. His quarters were quite comfortable, Mrs. Long was permitted to stay with him, and he was allowed frequent visitors. His health had undoubtedly suffered and, to make matters worse, the excitement of the previous months and the shock of imprisonment made sleep extremely difficult.[158] Much of his time was spent in study[159] and in correspondence, in

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158. C.M.S. CI1/0185/76 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 16 August 1861; CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 21 September 1861.

159. While in prison Long compiled a pamphlet Strike but Hear! Evidence explanatory of the Indigo System in Lower Bengal, in which he collected together many important documents connected with the indigo question — evidence which he hoped would show that it was "not without cause" that he interfered in the controversy.

drawing up plans for his future work and in receiving and conversing with an endless stream of European and Bengali visitors. In fact, Long's imprisonment made him hero and martyr in the eyes of many. "Never before, perhaps, since the foundation-stone was laid of No. 1, Chowringhee, was it frequented in so short a time by so many respectable gentlemen, both native and European, as during the last fortnight", wrote a reporter. "The apartments of the Revd. James Long, in the Common Jail, were darkened by the shadows of members of the Civil as well as the Uncovenanted Service, of Chaplains and Missionaries, of gentlemen of the press, and native gentlemen of all degrees of respectability."[160]

The reporter, a Bengali Christian minister, and editor of the Indian Reformer, also saw Long in prison, and afterwards gave his readers a first hand account of his visit. After their arrival at the Common Jail, he and his party found it quite unnecessary to make any preliminary enquiries: "the bare mention of the reverend gentleman", he wrote, "was sufficient to induce the European sentry to let us pass, while the native porters prevented all questioning by asking us whether we had come to see "Padre Long", and by pointing to a three-storied

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160. Indian Reformer, 10 August 1861.

house on the left as his temporary residence...we ascended the third floor of the house, and were ushered into a room where Mr. Long received us with his usual politeness. After taking our seat we almost fancied, that we were sitting in Mr. Long's drawing-room in his house in Amherst Street. The master of the house was seated on a couch., before which stood a table groaning under the weight of books. There was no cloud on his brow. His beard and whiskers, though perhaps not so well combed as usual, lay entrenched around the same placid countenance. His eyes had lost none of their indigo brightness. His speech was, as usual, abrupt and animated. There was no change in the man, the same smile, pleasantly playing on the lips and bursting through the eyes — the same shrugging of the shoulders, — the same constitutional fidgettiness, — the same frankness of manner and kindliness of disposition, — the same loud guffaw shaking his sides and the very couch on which he was seated. Sociable to a degree, he talked a great deal. He talked of indigo, of the ryots, of the planters, of the amelioration of India, of the progress of Christianity. Not one word of abuse or reproach of the planters, or of their association, escaped his lips. The jury who had found him actuated by malice knew not their man. We were at no loss to find out the secret of Mr. Long's tranquillity of spirit and Christian meekness in suffering, when we discovered that amongst the many books which lay upon the

table before him in agreeable confusion were the Bible and two volumes of Baxter's works.[161] On the right of the venerable prisoner, seated in an easy chair, was his partner in life. When we entered she was reading that morning's Englishman, the editor of which was one of her husband's prosecutors. Her cheerfulness was impossible not to note. She spoke of the comforts of her husband's quarters, of its freedom from damp, of its ventilation,[162] — and did not utter one word of complaint. At the left hand side of Mr. Long, were two native Christians, bending over the columns of a vernacular newspaper, who had come from a suburban village, — the chief scene of Mr. Long's missionary labours, to offer their humble but hearty sympathy to their spiritual guide and benefactor. Near him sat cross-legged on the floor, a Hindu Sanscrit scholar whom Mr. Long facetiously termed his "jail pundit". Such is the man, and such are the environments of him whom the highest court in the land has pronounced guilty of malicious libel and slander."[163]

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161. Richard Baxter, the seventeenth century Puritan divine, was one of Long's favourite authors /C.M.S. G/AC3 Long to Jowett, 12 October 1838/.
162. Long was imprisoned during the monsoon season.
163. Indian Reformer, 10 August 1861.

In his Resolution of 8 August, Canning did not comment on Long's conduct in the Nil Darpan episode, but his views of Long's case can to some extent be gathered from his correspondence with Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India. His strictures on the judge's conduct and his feeling that Long's prosecution should have been forestalled, either by the Lieutenant-Governor or by Seton-Karr himself, have already been mentioned. In his opinion the whole affair of Long's trial and conviction "beginning with the mode of procedure chosen (by indictment, instead of by Criminal information, or Civil Action) and ending with Peacock's cutting short Mr. Long's address is a discreditable exhibition enough".[164] He was even disturbed by a report, in June 1861, that the Calcutta Corresponding Committee was talking of expelling Long from the C.M.S. "This is an absurdity", wrote Canning, "Bishops Blomfield and Monk edited much worse plays in their day. I have begged the Bishop to try to stave off any such hasty and exaggerated proceeding".[165]

Some, perhaps most, of the Governor-General's Council were also opposed to the planters' proceedings against Long. Sir Bartle Frere, Canning's closest adviser,

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164. H.P. Canning to Wood, 31 July 1861.
165. H.P. Canning to Wood, 23 June 1861.

H.B. Harington, the member for the North West Provinces, Seton-Karr, the member for Bengal, Macleod Wylie, the Secretary of the Council and probably also C.J.Erskine, the member for Bombay, expressed disapproval of the prosecution.[166] Some of these officials, like Frere and the Governor-General himself, were probably shocked and disgusted by the violence of the proceedings and some, like Macleod Wylie, influenced by their deep dislike of the indigo planting system.[167] But Frere was also a strong advocate of Christian missions and Wylie and Harington were serving on local missionary committees[168] and, because of their close connection with the missionaries, all three were probably influenced by the missionary reactions and by the sympathy most of the missionaries felt for the prisoner. Moreover, Frere and Wylie, like Seton-Karr, mixed with Long socially and

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166. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861; CI1/M16 Seton-Karr to Long, 21 July 1861; CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 8 October 1861; CI1/0185/111 Long to Stuart, 21 September 1861; Englishman, 24 August 1861.

167. J. Martineau The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere, volI, p.361; C.M.S. CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861.

168. Stock, vol.II, pp.173-4, 251; A.G. Roussac New Calcutta Directory, 1861, Part VI, pp.4, 26. Harington was a member of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. and Wylie, a member of the Board in charge of the secular affairs of the Free Church of Scotland's Bengal Mission.

worked with him — sometimes on the same committee; they knew him well and found it impossible to accept the jury's verdict that he was actuated by malice. "No one, I am persuaded", wrote Wylie, "who knows his character, and has traced his career can doubt the truth of what he says in the purity of his Motives".[169] "Whatever the Jury may have meant by their verdict", wrote Seton-Karr in a letter to Long, "no one who knows you will believe that there was a grain of malice or ill will in anything you have done, or that you may not stand acquitted in your own conscience and in the sight of God...".[170]

Frere was one of the few men who originally supported the planters and then changed sides because of their proceedings against Long. The whole episode involving Long's eventual prosecution was, Frere subsequently confessed "rather a shock" to all his notions. "I had much sympathy with the planters", he wrote, "which has been pretty well corrected by their un-English hatred of free discussion, and vindictive alliance with the Press to punish a man for libel not half as bad as the Press

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169. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861.
170. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Seton-Karr to Long, 21 July 1861. See also Frere to Long, 18 July 1861.

publishes daily on Government,[171] and to punish him by a form of trial which does not admit of his pleading the truth or meeting the charge fairly."[172] Like the Governor-General, he criticized, in particular, the attitude and behaviour of Wells and Peacock. "Where, from beginning to end, everyone seems to have blundered", he wrote, "mistakes would occasion no surprize, but I have never before felt so ashamed of our Supreme Court Judges on the Bench."[173]

However, not all the members of the Governor-General's Council opposed the planters — and while Sir Charles Jackson, one of the two Supreme Court Judges on the Council, apparently "looked on the libel as (merely) technically a breach of the law and calling for little more than a nominal punishment", Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice, who had himself been involved in Long's trial, made no secret of the fact that he believed a longer sentence should have been imposed.[174]

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171. In his opinion, the play was "very much the kind of melo-drama which would have delighted a Surrey-side audience twenty years ago, substituting Indigo planters for bloated aristocrats, of Jesuits, or the Italian Count who does the horrible in the melo-drama". [Quoted in Martineau, vol.I, p.360]
172. Martineau, vol.I. p.361.
173. H.P. Frere to Wood, 9 August 1861.
174. H.P. Frere to Wood, 4 December 1861.

But, as already suggested, Peacock was probably one of the few members of the Legislative Council who continued to defend the planters' conduct. Moreover, the planters probably found even less support among Bengal Government officials. The Bengal Government had been the main object of the planters' attack and the Lieutenant-Governor as well as Seton-Karr had been implicated in the events which led up to the circulation of the Nil Darpan under Government frank.

The attitude of at least some of the Bengal Government officials towards Long's trial is perhaps reflected in the articles which appeared in the weekly Indian Empire. This paper which commenced publication in July 1861, was, according to the Bengal Hurkaru," a Government paper, owned by the member for Bengal, /Seton-Karr/ and edited by the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta." /G.F. Cockburn/[175] Its connections with the Bengal Government and Civil Service were certainly close. The more friendly Hindoo Patriot referred to it as "the Civil Service Indian Empire", and the paper frankly admitted that its main purpose was to "support the Government of the country when possible; when unable to do so, to oppose with temper and moderation and never to

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175. Bengal Hurkaru, 12, 18 July 1861.

impute discreditable intentions."[176] The paper, which attacked the planters and declared itself in favour of missions, spoke out boldly in Long's defence. In skilfully argued editorials, it was pointed out that the planters felt considerable prejudice against missionaries, but that in initiating legal proceedings against the printer of the Nil Darpan and against Long, they were attempting to reach the Bengal Government. The editor claimed that the play was not a libel, expressed some surprise when Long was finally convicted, and argued that nothing like malice had been proved against him. The Indian Empire, like other papers, deprecated the judge's bias in summing up and also quoted passages from his speech which had been suppressed in the Englishman. Wells, it was stated, had brought great discredit on the Supreme Court, and the jury's verdict struck a blow at the freedom of the press.[177]

The attitude of Government officials and civil servants to Long's trial and imprisonment undoubtedly caused the planters some embarrassment and irritation. The editor of the Bengal Hurkaru wrote caustically that, while in prison, Long had no want of society, "Mr.Seton-Karr and all the Civilians calling upon him",[178] and a letter to

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176. Hindoo Patriot, 5 September 1861; Indian Empire, 10 July 1861.
177. Indian Empire, 10, 24, 31 July, 14, 21 August, 9 October 1861.
178. Bengal Hurkaru, 8 August 1861.

the Englishman headed "Official visits of Condolence", drew attention to a report that "a number of distinguished officials have been in the habit of paying frequent visits to the quarters of the Rev. J. Long during his incarceration", and that among them were Sir Bartle Frere, Seton-Karr, Lord Ulick Brown (Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Home and Financial Department), Erskine, Macleod Wylie"and many others too numerous to mention". If this report was true, wrote the correspondent, then these officials had been guilty by their acts "of attempting to bring the administration of justice into contempt, by showing an active official sympathy for a person who, by a verdict of his own countrymen, has been unanimously found guilty of a gross and filthy libel, and sentenced to imprisonment".[179] But, on the other hand, the editor of the Indian Reformer was delighted with these official visits and noted shrewdly that "when it is remembered, that an Englishman has an instinctive, we almost said, a constitutional reverence for the decisions of a court of justice, the fact of Mr. Long's being visited in his cell of incarceration by so many of his intelligent and respectable countrymen must be confessed to be one of peculiar significance".[180]

The Calcutta Missionary Conference considered Long's

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179. Englishman, 24 August 1861.
180. Indian Reformer, 10 August 1861.

case at a specially convened meeting on the evening of 30 July — six days after his imprisonment. At the suggestion of the Chairman, Dr. Duff, the Rev. Stuart, Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., drew up and submitted a document which he hoped would form the basis of an address signed by all the missionaries.[181] He greatly respected Long whom he described as a sufferer "in the cause of truth & righteousness"[182] and he was anxious for a resolution which would not only vindicate his conduct, but concentrate on the broader issues involved. In the draft address, he treated the alleged libel as "a mere handle" which the planters had got hold of, went into what he considered were the real merits of the case between planters and ryots and defended the right of missionaries to interfere in this kind of social question.

However, not all the missionaries felt as strongly about Long's case as Stuart himself and the final resolution was undoubtedly a compromise solution. In it the missionaries said little about the indigo question itself and merely expressed the hope that their motives in taking part in the indigo controversy would not be

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181. C.M.S. CI1/0281/39 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861.
182. C.M.S. CI1/0281/39 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861; CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 15 August 1861.

"misconstrued".[183] The whole address was more conciliatory towards the planters than the document Stuart proposed and the Conference concentrated more strictly on Long's own case than on the broader issues involved. They affirmed their belief in "the perfect accuracy" of Long's Statement explaining the part he had played in connection with the Nil Darpan and expressed regret that after it had appeared he had been subject to a prosecution "especially by a form of procedure which has been characterized as the harshest known to English law". They recorded their regret that in his introduction to the translation Long had "not more carefully guarded himself against the supposition of having adopted as his own all the sentiments and representations of the native author", but at the same time they expressed confidence in "the purity of his motives" and assured him of their sympathy and "continued affection and respect."

Soon after this address was published, the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru, Alexander Forbes, claimed that it was said that at the Conference "there was a great difference of opinion, some of the members having proposed to expel Mr. Long from their Association altogether; but the Revd. Chairman (Dr. Duff) with characteristic vehemence declared

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183. C.C.O., vol.XXX, August 1861, pp.363-364.

that if they did not pass the resolutions...he would go home and preach the martyrdom of St.Long in every village and hamlet in England and Scotland".[184] These comments aroused considerable anger and resentment among Long's supporters. Forbes was attacked and his comments challenged in the Indian Field, the Indian Reformer and the new weekly, the Indian Empire.[185] When he repeated his allegations, the Rev.Mullens, Secretary of the Conference, wrote to the Bengal Hurkaru protesting.[186] He stated that Forbes had been "entirely mistaken" and that his informant's description of the Conference meeting was "a gross fabrication of his own". "No proposal was made by anyone, in any form whatever, to expel Mr. Long from the Conference", wrote Mullens, "and the Statement that the Chairman threatened to go home and preach the martyrdom of St.Long, if the Resolutions were not passed, is a pure fabrication". As a result of this protest, Forbes apologised in the pages of the Bengal Hurkaru and there the matter ended.[187]

There can be little doubt, however, that there were some differences of opinion on Long's case, although these

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184. Bengal Hurkaru, 9 August 1861.
185. Indian Field, 17 August 1861; Indian Reformer, 24 August 1861; Indian Empire, 21 August 1861.
186. Bengal Hurkaru, 16, 19 August 1861.
187. Bengal Hurkaru, 19 August 1861.

were probably not as marked as Forbes implied. The Rev. Stuart and the other C.M.S. missionaries in Calcutta, who had been more closely connected with the indigo controversy than many of the other missionaries present at the meeting, were not completely satisfied with the resolutions finally adopted and later presented Long with a separate address of their own.[188] This was quite probably the original draft address Stuart had prepared for the Calcutta Missionary Conference.[189] They dwelt on the broad issues involved in Long's case, expressed no regret for anything he had done and, in contrast to the Conference, defended his introduction to the Nil Darpan. But, on the other hand, many missionaries — possibly the majority — who sympathized with Long, nevertheless regretted certain aspects of his conduct. The Rev.Storrow of the L.M.S., for example, deplored "the vindictive malice of the Indigo planters and the editor of the Englishman" and referred to their "bitterness, injustice and want of principle", but, at the same time, he stated that "Mr.L has not acted as wisely as he might".[190] And in an article published in

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188. C.M.S. CI1/0185/74 C.M.S. Missionary Address, 2 August 1861.
189. C.M.S. CI1/0281/39 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861.
190. L.M.S. MSS. Box 10 (Bengal 1858-1863) Storrow to Sec. of L.M.S., 8 August 1861.

the Calcutta Christian Observer, the organ of the Conference, the writer defended Long's conduct in general, but admitted that "there may have been points on which we have differed with him" and that "we may have sometimes doubted the accuracy of his information and the soundness of his judgment".[191]

However, the compromise address finally adopted by the Conference allowed for these minor differences of opinion and, in the course of the controversy with Alexander Forbes, it was stated by the editor of the Indian Reformer, who attended the meeting as a member of the Conference, that there were twenty-five missionaries present and that the address of sympathy was passed by twenty-three votes to two.[192] Similar figures were quoted in the Indian Field.[193] The general impression that these figures give — that almost all the missionaries belonging to the Calcutta Missionary Conference objected to the prosecution and sympathized with Long — is strengthened from other sources. Judge Wylie, in a letter to Henry Venn, stated that he believed "nearly everyone of the Missionaries" supported Long in the case[194] and the Rev.Stuart wrote that "the Clergy with few exceptions...have visited Mr.Long in

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191. C.C.O., vol.XXX, August 1861, p.361.
192. Indian Reformer, 24 August 1861.
193. Indian Field, 17 August 1861.
194. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861.

prison".[195] The point was practically conceded by the hostile editor of the Bengal Hurkaru who admitted, two weeks after Long's imprisonment, that he had been visited by "a good sprinkling of the clergy".[196]

In spite of differences in tradition and outlook, the S.P.G. missionaries in Calcutta seem to have adopted much the same attitude towards Long's trial and prosecution as the Evangelicals who were represented by the Conference. They too generally sided with Long against the planters. The Rev. F.R. Vallings, Secretary of the S.P.G., seems to have given Long's conduct his qualified approval and commented severely on the judge's conduct.[197] Three other S.P.G. missionaries, Dr. Kay, Principal of Bishop's College, and the Revs. H.H. Sandel and W.O'B. Smith visited Long in prison.[198]

The reaction among most of the missionaries in Long's favour was conditioned by a number of factors. In the first place, as a result of the indigo controversy, relations between the planters and missionaries deteriorated throughout the 1850's. Party feelings and

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195. C.M.S. CI1/0281/59 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861.
196. Bengal Hurkaru, 8 August 1861.
197. S.P.G. D.MSS. vol.XX, Vallings to Sec. of S.P.G., 8 August 1861.
198. S.P.G. E.MSS.9 Sandel's Journal, 3, 6 August 1861; C.M.S. CI1/0185/73 Long to Parent Committee, 8 August 1861.

loyalties had been developed and the missionaries were already predisposed to condemn the planters' proceedings and defend one of their own members.[199] Secondly, some missionaries, like Dr. Duff and the Rev. T. Sandys, had known and worked with Long for twenty years. They could not for a moment agree with the jury's verdict that Long had been actuated by malice — and this feeling was shared by many others.[200] Thirdly, many of the missionaries, like some of the Government officials, felt that the planters had been violent and vindictive and were disturbed by the attitude of Sir Mordaunt Wells.[201]

But above all, the missionaries believed that Long was victimized partly or wholly because, like them, he championed the ryots and opposed the planters. The

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199. "It is of great importance that we should be seen all to hang together in the cause really at stake", wrote Stuart. /C.M.S. CI1/0281/39 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861./

200. C.C.O., vol.XXX, August 1861, pp.363-4; C.M.S. CI1/0185/74 C.M.S. Missionary Address, 2 August 1861; Free Church of Scotland Weekly Record, No.V, November 1861, p.34; C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861; CI1/M16 Stuart to Pratt, 13 August 1861; CI1/M16 Duff to Mrs. Long, 19 July 1861; CI1/0185/75 Long to Parent Committee, 15 August 1861.

201. C.C.O., vol.XXX, August 1861, pp.363-364; C.M.S. CI1/0185/74 C.M.S. Missionary Address, 2 August 1861; CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 22, 30 July 1861; L.M.S. MSS. Box 10 (Bengal, 1858-1863) Storrow to Sec. of L.M.S., 8 August 1861; S.P.G. D. MSS., vol.20, Vallings to Sec. of S.P.G., 8 August 1861.

attack on Long was interpreted as an attack on the whole missionary body and a direct criticism of the part they themselves had played in the indigo controversy. "The blow has been struck at one", wrote the Rev. Stuart, "but it has been aimed at us all."[202] It was felt that by prosecuting Long the planters were challenging a fundamental principle — the right of missionaries to interfere in social questions. The Rev.Mullens stated that the Calcutta missionaries believed that the speech of the prosecuting counsel and the violent language of the planters' press "proved unmistakably that the interference of missionaries in these social questions (indigo planting, etc.) was resented, and the prosecution was an effort to compel the friends of the peasantry to be silent in their outcry against wrong."[203]

The attitude of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, the local governing body of the C.M.S., to

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202. C.M.S. CI1/0281/39 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861; C.M.S. CI1/0185/74 C.M.S. Missionary Address, 2 August 1861; Free Church of Scotland Weekly Record, No.V, November 1861, p.34.
203. J. Mullens Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India, p.173; C.M.S. CI1/0185/74 C.M.S. Missionary Address, 2 August 1861.

Long's conduct was, of course, of considerable importance to Long himself. The Bishop was Chairman and the Secretary, who had a great deal of influence and did most of the work, was the Rev. E.C. Stuart who had succeeded Cuthbert on his retirement through ill health in 1860. Other members of the Committee were Archdeacon Pratt, the Rev. H. Hutton, a senior chaplain, and three laymen, J.H. Fergusson,[204] a merchant, H.B. Harington, an active Churchman and member of the Legislative Council,[205] and Colonel E.W.S. Scott of the artillery.

Long's case was not formally considered by the Committee until October 1861. If, as Canning seemed to believe, there was talk of expelling Long from the C.M.S. even before his trial, such talk very probably came from one or two of the lay members — from J.H. Fergusson, who was a member of the Landholders' and Commercial Association and perhaps also from Colonel Scott who, like Fergusson, subsequently pressed for a vote of censure on Long for his conduct. The Bishop himself, like the Archdeacon,

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204. Not to be confused with W.F. Fergusson, Secretary of the Landholders' and Commercial Association.
205. A.G. Roussac New Calcutta Directory, 1861, Part VI, pp.3-6, Part IX, p.231.

appears to have viewed Long's case sympathetically before the trial.[206]

During the trial, the Bishop and the Archdeacon were away in Assam on visitation and hence their understanding of the situation was conditioned largely by press reports and letters. On 10 August, while in Dacca, the Bishop wrote to Long stating that in his (the Bishop's) view Long was by no means free from blame, warning him against "any fresh indiscretion", but adding that neither as Bishop nor as President of the Church Missionary Society had he any intention of moving further in the matter, or of attempting to add any ecclesiastical censure to the civil penalties already inflicted. He had been reading a report of the trial in the Bengal Hurkaru and was particularly disturbed by reports that the Nil Darpan "contained allegations of an imfamous character against the Planters Wives" and he argued that Long should have deleted the passages, containing these allegations, from the English translation. He was also disturbed by the report that when the verdict was given Long said he would do the same thing again. "I hope from what I have heard elsewhere", wrote the Bishop, "that there is some mistake about this, as if true, it was certainly

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206. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861; CI1/O185/73 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 8 August 1861.

disrespectful to the Court." Moreover, the Bishop was by no means convinced that the indigo system was as bad as the Nil Darpan represented and he regretted Long's comment in his introduction that the effects of the system were pointed out in language "plain but true". He also objected to the way in which the play had been published and circulated.[207]

However, the Bishop's views were subsequently modified. Long's reply on 24 August undoubtedly satisfied him on certain points and Seton-Karr's comments in the press convinced him that the references to the planters' wives were not as offensive as he had once imagined.[208] Long explained that he had, in fact, suppressed some of the coarser passages and that if he had cut out anything else, the play would have lost its value as an expression of Bengali feeling on the indigo question. He also argued, quite convincingly, that he had been misrepresented by the Bengal Hurkaru and never intended to defy the Court's decision. But although the Bishop accepted these explanations, he never completely excused Long from all blame and censure and, in a letter to Henry Venn in November 1861, more than

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207. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Cotton to Long, 10 August 1861.
208. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Cotton to Long, 10 August 1861;CI1/M16 Long to Cotton, 24 August 1861.

three months after Long's trial, wrote that in his opinion, Long was blameable "(1) for the words "plain but true", in his preface, which I do not think that his brother Missionaries have satisfactorily explained, since, as far as I know the only objections to the indigo planting arise from the System of advances. (2) For omitting to state generally, and also in notes on special passages that, the work was to be considered rather an indication of native feeling, than a true picture of planters or ryots, or rather that its descriptions were grossly exaggerated; & (3) for connecting himself with the mode of circulation, which I think altogether indefensible."[209]

But, the Bishop also believed there was much to be said in Long's favour and defended him in a calmly written article published in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer.[210] In this article, which was unsigned and expressed the Bishop's private views of the Nil Darpan case,[211] he fully admitted that Long's conduct was not free from blame, but at the same time paid him a tribute which Long himself quoted in a letter to the C.M.S. "No one", wrote the Bishop, "who has seen his

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209. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Cotton to Venn, 4 November 1861.
210. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, September 1861, pp.310-315.
211. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Cotton to Venn, 4 November 1861.

schools and mission at Thakerpookur and watched his self-denying work among his scholars and native Christians, or who is aware of his earnest efforts, now carried on for many years, to raise the condition of the Bengal peasantry, to supply them with a pure vernacular literature, and fit them for Christ's Kingdom, will doubt for a moment that he acted from a conscientious conviction that the indigo system was fraught with evil; and that the circulation of the Nil Darpan would open the eyes of the English public as to the light in which it was regarded by the natives."

The authorship of this article was soon discovered and the Bishop was angrily attacked in the Englishman. This attack was answered in the Indian Field and in other Calcutta papers.[212]

Stuart, whose views on the Nil Darpan case have already been mentioned, was considerably dismayed by what seemed to be a change in the attitude of the Archdeacon when he was still away on visitation.[213] Like the Bishop, the Archdeacon was particularly concerned with the alleged insinuations against the morals of the planters' wives in

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212. Englishman, 28 September 1861; Indian Field, 28 September 1861; Indian Empire, 9 October 1861.
213. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 15 August 1861.

the Nil Darpan and felt that Long should have struck out the "offensive" passages. Stuart vigorously defended Long's conduct in a letter to the Archdeacon and stated that he gathered from the latter's comments that he had not seen the book itself.[214] He explained that the report of the judge's summing up had given a completely false impression of what the play contained and he enclosed newspaper cuttings, including copies of Government correspondence, which he wrote "will shew you that he [Long] was only rendering a legitimate service to Government in that particular line which years ago he was led to take up, of bringing to light the productions of the Native Press."

This letter may well have had some effect on the Archdeacon's attitude, for when Long's case was finally discussed by the Corresponding Committee in October 1861, the Archdeacon as well as the Bishop, the Rev. Stuart and the Rev. Hutton were in favour of a strong resolution of sympathy. H.B. Harington, who it appears would have supported such a resolution, was away in Madras. The remaining lay members of the Committee, J.H. Fergusson and Colonel Scott, felt that Long should be censured.[215]

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214. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Pratt, 13 August 1861.
215. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 8 October, 2 November 1861; CI1/M16 Cotton to Venn, 4 November 1861; CI1/0185/79 Long to Venn, 22 November 1861.

According to the Bishop, Fergusson, being a member of the Landholders' Association, was "very strongly biassed [sic] against Mr. Long" and Colonel Scott found more fault with Long than the Bishop could for a moment agree with.[216] Thus the Committee was clearly divided and the attitudes taken up by its various members reflected to some extent the attitudes and division in the wider European community. It was felt that resolutions on Long's case should be passed unanimously by the Committee, with the inevitable result that the resolutions finally adopted were a "not altogether satisfactory" compromise.[217] "If you had seen those moved by one of our laymembers," wrote the Bishop in a letter to Henry Venn, "you would wonder how we contrived to alter them, and tone them down to the form in which they were at last unanimously accepted."[218] "One resolution proposed," wrote Stuart, "would have (constructively) committed us to an expression of opinion favourable to the Planter's System: and this I am happy to say was withdrawn."[219] Copies of the resolutions finally adopted were to be sent to

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216. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Cotton to Venn, 4 November 1861.
217. ibid.; C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 2 November 1861.
218. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Cotton to Venn, 4 November 1861.
219. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 2 November 1861.

missionaries, but not published.

In their first resolution, the Committee declared that while they were "fully sensible of the value of the Rev. Mr. Long's exertions in connection with vernacular literature and believe that his labors are dictated by an earnest desire for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the natives of India and therefore sympathize with him in what he has suffered on this occasion they cannot but regret his connection with the circulation of the Nil Darpan." In their second resolution, they stated that they recognized the importance of a "watchful attention" to the productions of the vernacular press, but they added that "in bringing the Nil Darpan to the notice of the Civil Authorities Mr. Long's duty as a missionary ended — the Government being fully capable of making such use of the work as the public interests required," and finally, they drew attention to the Parent Committee's instructions urging its missionaries to speak and act with caution and restraint when dealing with questions of a semi-political nature.[220]

The attitude of the Phoenix (one of the Calcutta European dailies) to Long's trial and imprisonment

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220. C.M.S. CI1/O1/471 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 9 October 1861.

suggests that at least some of the non-official Europeans in Calcutta, other than missionaries and clergy, condemned the planters' proceedings.[221] Even the Friend of India[222] under its new editor, George Smith, a man not noted for his outspoken criticism of indigo-planting, attacked the way in which the trial had been conducted. The paper condemned in the strongest terms the behaviour of Sir Mordaunt Wells. His charge to the jury and his remarks were, in the editor's opinion, "such as to excite the indignation of all moderate men, and to surprise even the most unreasoning partisans. But for the expression of Sir Barnes Peacock's legal opinion," he continued, "Mr. Long would probably have left the Court with the sympathy of even the men whom he is said to have libelled."[223] There even seems to have been a slight reaction in Long's favour — a sense of regret — an uneasy feeling that proceedings had gone too far — among some members of the Landholders' and Commercial Association. Canning noted that "some (not many I fear) of the most respectable of the Landholders' and Planters' Association are shocked at the spirit which the proceedings against Long have

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221. Indian Field, 17 August 1861; Indian Reformer, 24 August 1861; Phoenix, 3 September 1861.
222. Kling, p.254.
223. Friend of India, 25 July 1861.

evoked from the Bench, and are opposed to giving their countenance and money to bring about a repetition of them.[224] Even Walter Brett, the editor of the Englishman and one of the plaintiffs in Long's case, appeared to be showing some signs of regret and Frere remarked that his manner was "the reverse of swaggering."[225] His editorial in the Englishman the day after Long's conviction was almost apologetic.[226]

However, there were still intensely bitter feelings against Long and all the missionaries — especially among some of the planters and in the mercantile community[227] — so much so that the Rev. S.R. Vallings, Secretary of the S.P.G., gloomily predicted that local European subscriptions to his and other missionary societies would be seriously affected.[228] Some of these feelings found expression in the editorial and correspondence columns of the Bengal Hurkaru. The paper, perhaps more so than at any other time during the indigo controversy, became the vehicle of unprincipled smears and abuse. "No verdict of any Jury can disprove the fact," wrote

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224. H.P. Canning to Wood, 31 July 1861.
225. H.C. Frere to Canning, 7 August 1861.
226. Englishman, 25 July 1861.
227. C.M.S. CI1/0281/37 Stuart to Venn, 22 July 1861.
228. S.P.G. Copies of Letters Received, vol.3, Vallings to Sec. of S.P.G., pp.438-439.

one correspondent, "that Mr. Long's occupation for six days in the week appears to be a love for the most gross and obscene literature, such as most laymen would commit to the flames; but Mr. Long translates filth from the Vernacular into English ... This Minister of the Gospel, with hatred and animosity rankling in his breast, is called upon to visit the sick and the dying. At the end of six days with his hands stained with filth, the bosom filled with malice and revenge he enters upon the performance of the Holy ordinances of the Church, preaches charity, and administers to its followers, the solemn Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ."[229] The editor of the Bengal Hurkaru made similar types of comment. "Mr. Long," he wrote, "has always avowed the greatest love for Bengalee literature which is all obscene. Mr. Long's charges against the planters were always of lust, which showed the turn of his mind."[230]

It has already been seen that the more vocal section of the Bengali community in Calcutta spoke out strongly in Long's favour even before the trial began. Kaliprosanna Sinha, who stepped forward immediately

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229. Bengal Hurkaru, 23 July 1861.
230. Bengal Hurkaru, 24 July 1861.

sentence was pronounced on Long, was not the only Bengali anxious to give him financial assistance. A subscription to cover Long's other legal expenses was commenced when he was in jail and, the day before he left Calcutta in February 1862, the Bengalis presented him with the sum of 3,540 rupees as a testimonial.[231]

On 25 July — the day after Long was imprisoned — he was asked by the Bengali community if he would agree to a petition being sent to Government for a remission of sentence. However, Long declined this suggestion on the ground that an appeal would embarrass the authorities.[232] While in prison, he received numerous Bengali visitors, "gentlemen of all degrees of respectability,"[233] and was presented with several Bengali addresses of sympathy. The most impressive carried nearly three thousand signatures, and was probably drawn up by the leading members of the British Indian Association. Copies of the address, which for several days circulated round offices and shops in Calcutta for signature, could be obtained in the Association's office and all the five signatories mentioned by name in the

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231. C.M.S. CI1/0185/83 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 28 February 1862.
232. C.C.O., vol.XXX, August 1861, pp.360-361.
233. Indian Reformer, 10 August 1861.

press — those whose names headed the list — were members of the Association.[234] The name of the President, Radhakanta Deb, was first and the name of the Vice-President, Kali Krishna, was second on the list, while the three other signatories whose names were published, Petab Sing, Satyeachurn Ghosal and Ramanath Tagore, were all members of the Committee. Long also received addresses of sympathy from students of the Medical College,[235] from students of the Presidency College,[236] and from Bengali Christians resident in Calcutta.[237]

The four leading English language newspapers in Calcutta and Serampore edited wholly or in part by Bengalis united in condemning the prosecution. The most influential of these papers was probably the Hindoo Patriot. This paper, which championed the ryots during the indigo controversy, was owned by Kaliprosanna Singha and edited by Girishchandra Ghose.[238] The other three papers were the Indian Field, whose political editor was Kissorychand Mitra of the British Indian Association,[239] the Indian Reformer, published in

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234. Bengal Hurkaru, 5 August 1861; Indian Empire, 14 August 1861.
235. Indian Field, 24 August 1861.
236. C.M.S. CI1/O185/75 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 15 August 1861.
237. Indian Reformer, 24 August 1861.
238. M. Ghosh Memoirs of Kali Prossunno Singh, pp.56-58; Kling, p.251.
239. Kling, p.253.

Serampore and edited by a Bengali Christian minister,[240] and a new fortnightly publication, the Indian Mirror, which was started in August 1861 by Manomohan Ghose — formerly connected with the Hindoo Patriot.[241] The Indian Mirror was backed financially by Devendranath Tagore, founder of the Tattvabodhini Sabha, and later passed into the hands of Keshabchandra Sen.

But the vernacular, rather than the English language press, was more likely to reflect the attitude of a wider section of the population to Long's imprisonment. Although the circulation of these papers was small compared with that of other publications, they exercised considerable influence. In 1859, Long estimated that each paper had an average of about ten readers.[242] Wherever the views of these papers can be detected, it appears that they too were disturbed by the planters' proceedings and defended Long's conduct. The attitude of the Somprokash — one of the most important of the vernacular newspapers — to Long's trial has been

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240. J.Murdoch Indian Year Book for 1861, p.172; Hindoo Patriot, 8 August 1861.
241. Indian Mirror, 1 August 1861; J. Natarajan History of Indian Journalism, pp.71-72.
242. Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No.XXXII, pp.XXXIV.

discussed.[243] The Paridarshak, which had only just commenced publication, wrote of Long's great love and self-sacrifice in glowing terms[244] and the Bhaskar, generally regarded as "the native paper", ran a poem in one of its columns eulogizing Long in the most extravagant terms — celebrating the day of his release from prison.[245]

Bengalis in the Mofussil, as well as in Calcutta, were deeply disturbed by Long's imprisonment. He received an address of sympathy from Bengalis in Krishnagar and Santipur and was assured that if plans for a demonstration on the day of his release from prison had not, at his own request, been abandoned "the assemblage would have been...joined in by various parties from the Mofussil as there the intelligence of your present position has been received with as much

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243. See p. 290.
244. C.M.S. CI1/0185/112 (translation from article in Paridarshak, dated 5 August 1861); N.S.Bose,p.239.
245. Indian Reformer, 6 September 1861; Selections, No.XXXII, pp.XXXV-XXXVI. The Bhaskar was a tri-weekly and, according to Long,"commented freely on men and things, causing many a man to wince under its lash." It circulated as far as the Punjab and had subscribers in England.

surprise and sorrow as in the metropolis.[246] The state of feeling in the Mofussil in 1861 can perhaps be gathered from the fact that in 1866, soon after his return from England and five years after his imprisonment, Long received invitations from influential Bengalis living in Dacca, Murshidabad, Hooghly and elsewhere to stay in their homes for a week or more, and also from the fact that, almost everywhere he travelled in Bengal, he was greeted enthusiastically by the local people. "I have been surprised to see wherever I go among the Natives the Nil Darpan case has given me an open door," wrote Long. "At Suri [in West Bengal] Natives came distances of twenty miles to meet me and at Berhampur we had all the Natives of influence in the district, the Judge and the Magistrate closing their cutcheris at an earlier hour in order to give them an opportunity to attend."[247]

The excitement caused by the prosecution was not confined to Bengal. The events of July 1861 were reported in the press in other parts of India and Long

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246. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Long to Cotton, 24 August 1861; Indian Field, 24 August 1861.
247. C.M.S. CI1/O185/93 Long to Venn, 30 April 1866; CI1/O185/94 Long to Venn, 1 September 1866.

received addresses of sympathy and support from Indians resident in cities as far away from Calcutta as Allahabad, Madras and Bombay.[248] Nor is there any indication that the reaction in Long's favour was confined to any particular section of the population. Indians of different religious persuasions — orthodox Hindus, Brahmos, Christians and even Muslims — expressed disapproval of the planters' proceedings.[249] Furthermore, the attitude of the vernacular newspapers already discussed, the existence of a popular ballad referring to Long's imprisonment and the triumph of the hated indigo planters,[250] and the demonstrations of feeling in rural areas suggest that common village people, as well as the educated politically-conscious classes (such as those connected with the British Indian Association) sided with Long against the planters.

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248. Indian Reformer, 10, 24 August, 6 September 1861; C.M.S. CI1/0185/111 Long to Stuart, 21 September 1861; CI1/0185/78 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 23 October 1861; CI1/M16 Annual Report 1861.

249. Indian Empire, 14 August 1861. Sayyid Ahmad Khan invited Long to Aligarh in October 1861 and, at a meeting attended by leading Muslims and Hindus, presented him with an address /C.M.S. CI1/0185/122 Notes on a Visit to the North West Provinces, etc./

250. R.G. Sanyal (ed.) Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India, Part I, p.61.

The intensity of this Bengali and Indian reaction to Long's imprisonment can only be properly understood in the total context of the indigo controversy which had been steadily gaining momentum since the early part of the 1850's. Generally speaking, Bengalis sided with the ryots against the planters, and feelings intensified to such an extent that almost anyone who, like Long, attempted to defend the ryots from oppression and apparently suffered in doing so, was likely to become a popular hero. Before his imprisonment, and even outside Bengal, Long was regarded as "one of the best friends of the Bengal peasantry"[251] — an ally in the great crusade against the planters for the ryots' emancipation. Hence his prosecution was seen as a blow aimed and struck at the peasants and as an alarming indication that the planters would stop at nothing — not even the imprisonment of an innocent clergyman of the Church of England — in their ruthless determination to eliminate opponents and perpetuate their brutal system of tyranny and oppression.[252]

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251. Indian Reformer, 10 August 1861.
252. See, in particular, Indian Field, 3 August 1861; M.Ghosh Memoirs of Kali Prossunno Singh, p.67; Indian Reformer, 10, 24 August 1861; Indian Mirror, 1 August 1861; India Office microfilm, Personal Letters to and from the Duke of Argyll, Lawrence to Elizabeth (Duchess of Argyll), 1 November 1861.

But these feelings of sorrow and consternation were, especially in the case of the educated Bengalis, intensified by a number of other considerations arising out of Long's trial and prosecution. In the first place, many Bengalis, like European officials and missionaries, were disturbed by some of the legal aspects of the case. They were not merely distressed by the fact that a play like the Nil Darpan could be declared a libel, or by the jury's claim (which contradicted their own convictions) that Long was actuated by malice; they were also annoyed by the judge's bullying manner and biased summing up.[253] The Indian Reformer also noted, in particular, the harshness of the proceedings and this point was also considered by the British Indian Association in their Annual Report of 1861.[254] Referring to the prosecution they condemned especially "the barbarous law of Libel admitting of no plea of justification" under which Long was tried.

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253. Hindoo Patriot, 8 August 1861; Indian Field, 3 August 1861; Indian Mirror, 1 August 1861; Indian Reformer, 25 July 1861.

254. Indian Reformer, 25 July, 10 August 1861; Sujata Ghosh "The British Indian Association and the Indigo Disturbances in Bengal," Indian Historical Records Commission - Proceedings, vol.XXXIV, Part II, December 1958, p.142.

"This defect in the Indian Law of Libel," they added, "is much to be regretted and the Committee proposed to bring it to the notice of the legislature for rectification."

Secondly, many politically-conscious Bengalis, like the editor of the Hindoo Patriot and those connected with the British Indian Association, believed that the planters' proceedings threatened to undermine the freedom of the press. The editor of the Indian Field announced that as a result of the jury's decision the drama was now "hopelessly proscribed from India,"[255] and the editor of the Indian Reformer feared that "the decision in the Nil Darpan case, will serve to gag the native press, and preclude the Government from obtaining genuine native opinion and feeling on any important subject."[256] In their address of 7 August, Radhakanta Deb and others stated that, if the result of Long's trial was to establish the principle that no one was to make known to the European community in India or the people of Great Britain the opinions and feelings of the native population, unless he was personally to adopt those opinions and feelings they feared that

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255. Indian Field, 8 August 1861.
256. Indian Reformer, 10 August 1861.

their means of reforming any part of their social and political systems were seriously diminished and freedom of the press placed in jeopardy.[257]

Finally, in the course of Long's trial, Bengali pride was hurt and national feelings offended. Radhakanta Deb and others expressly stated that the Nil Darpan was a genuine expression of Bengali feeling on the indigo question;[258] and yet, this play — a popular work of national literature — was described as foul and filthy by the planters and condemned as a libel by a predominantly European jury, ignorant of Bengali social etiquette and customs.[259] Furthermore, the judge himself, in the words of the Indian Reformer, insulted "the whole nation."[260] He observed, in the course of his summing up, that the address, presented to Long by leading Bengalis resident in Calcutta, was fit only to be "torn into pieces and scattered to the winds." Bengalis were naturally offended. Deb and others, referring to the judge's comments, expressed "surprise and regret" and it was pointed out that those who presented the address were "eminent and honored Members of the Native

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257. Indian Empire, 14 August 1861.
258. Bengal Hurkaru, 19 July 1861.
259. Indian Empire, 14 August 1861.
260. Indian Reformer, 25 July 1861.

Community of this Province, who not only command the confidence of their countrymen, but many of whom have lately received a distinguished mark of confidence of Her Majesty's Representative here."[261]

There can be little doubt that Long's trial and imprisonment, like the part previously played by the missionaries in the indigo controversy, created, at least temporarily, a more favourable attitude towards missionaries and Christianity. It confirmed the belief that missionaries were not, in fact, the same kind of Europeans as indigo planters, that they were not "partakers of other men's sins"[262] and it suggested that, at least in some cases, they were willing to practise the love and self-sacrifice they preached. "The Rev. Mr. Long,"wrote the editor of the Indian Mirror, "has acted manfully and precisely in the manner a true Christian Missionary should have done when placed under the same circumstances."[263]

Dr. Kay of the S.P.G., who visited Long in prison, remarked on the tone of the vernacular newspapers and

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261. Indian Empire, 14 August 1861.
262. C.M.S. CI1/050/58 translation of article from Somprokash, 17 June 1861.
263. Indian Mirror, 1 August 1861.

quoted one as saying that "if this be Christianity, then we wish Christianity would spread all over the country."[264] Duff, Wylie, Stuart and others believed that Long's imprisonment was creating "a very favourable impression for Christian Missions"[265] and catechists informed Long that as a result of his imprisonment "people have listened...more willingly to their preaching."[266]

Long himself was completely convinced that his imprisonment produced "a good effect on natives in lessening their prejudices against Christian Missions"[267] and in "furthering the Gospel."[268] In fact, the Indian reaction to his trial and prosecution affected his attitude towards evangelism. It strengthened his belief that "example is more powerful than precept" and that "the lives of Christians tell more on the spread of Christianity than their doctrines."[269] Secondly, it confirmed his belief, that by showing

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264. C.M.S. CI1/0185/73 Long to Parent Committee, 8 August 1861.
265. C.M.S. CI1/0185/75 Long to Parent Committee, 15 August 1861.
266. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Long to Cotton, 24 August 1861.
267. C.M.S. CI1/0185/104 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 22 March 1872.
268. C.M.S. CI1/0185/89 Long to Venn, 15 December [1863]; CI1/0185/79 Long to Venn, 22 November 1861; CI1/M16 Annual Report 1861.
269. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Long to Cotton, 24 August 1861; CI1/M16 Annual Report 1861; CI1/0185/75 Long to Parent Committee, 15 August 1861; CI1/0185/78 Long to Parent Committee, 23 October 1861.

concern for men's temporal condition it was possible to exercise greater influence over their thinking. In a letter to Henry Venn written soon after his imprisonment, he quoted Richard Baxter, one of his favourite authors, as saying "Do good to men's bodies if you would do good to their souls. Say not, things temporal are worthless trifles, for which the receivers will be never the better. They are things, that Nature is verily sensible of and secures the passage to the mind and will."[270]

News of Long's trial and prosecution reached England in September — after his release from prison. Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, reacted sharply. He stated in correspondence with Lord Canning that neither he nor Lord Stanley (his predecessor at the India Office) considered either the preface or the play a libel,[271] and later, in a letter to Sir Bartle Frere, repeated Lord Stanley's comment that "it would go hard with Charles Dickens for such a publication as "Hard Times" if he was to be tried by Sir B. Peacock and a Calcutta jury," and he added that "the only defence which a learned member of my Council

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270. C.M.S. CI1/0185/89 Long to Venn, 15 December [1863].
271. H.P. Wood to Canning, 18 October 1861.

can suggest, is that the law of libel is not the same in England and India — which it ought to be. In this view of the case, the offence is simply sending, under official frank, so as to give some stamp of Govt. sanction, the distribution of a play calculated to injure in the estimation of other Englishmen the character of some planters and magistrates. Injure them in the estimation of the Natives it could not — for in the first place that had been done by the play in the Native language — and in the second they would not understand the English."[272] Wood described the evident bias of Wells and Peacock as "discreditable"[273] and stated that, if he was asked to speak in Parliament, he would neither defend nor excuse their conduct.[274] "I was simple minded enough," he wrote, "to believe that nowadays any English lawyer would consider the appearance at least of impartiality as a sacred obligation on him; and I did not think such conduct as they have pursued possible."[275] He believed that Wells was quite unfit as a judge and felt that the sooner Peacock resigned the better.[276] In fact, he felt so strongly about the whole affair that he told Long sometime later that, if there had been a telegraph

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272. H.P. Wood to Frere, 17 January 1862.
273. H.P. Wood to Canning, 14 September 1861.
274. H.P. Wood to Canning, 2 October 1861.
275. H.P. Wood to Canning, 9 October 1861.
276. H.P.Wood to Canning, 2 November 1861, 10 January 1862.

to India, he would have ordered his release from prison.[277]

Lord Stanley not only thought the verdict in Long's case "indefensible" and disapproved of the judge's conduct, but considered that what had happened was "a serious inroad on the liberty of the press."[278]

When Parliament assembled in February 1862 it had "something else to think and talk about" as Wood predicted. Nevertheless, Long's case had attracted a good deal of attention and was discussed in many of the London papers. A brief survey of the most important of these journals and weekly publications suggests that most of them condemned the prosecution. Even the Times, which gave the planters some support in the indigo controversy, ran a series of articles in its columns by an English lawyer, Godfrey Lushington (brother of the new Secretary to the Bengal Government) in which he declared that Long was innocent and the trial a miscarriage of justice[279] "A missionary of pure and

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277. C.M.S. CI1/0185/107 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 21 February 1873.
278. H.P. Wood to Canning, 2, 25 October 1861.
279. Although the Times discussed some aspects of the Nil Darpan episode in its editorials (25 September, 18 October 1861) little reference was made to Long. The paper's correspondent in India was George Smith, editor of the Friend of India.

long standing character, harbouring no sort of personal grudge, was found guilty of malice," he wrote. "A high public officer was implicitly convicted of slander upon those planters to whom he had publicly dealt a distinguished impartiality... A fictitious drama was held a libel, and a libel upon a whole community. A work kindled by a sense of real public wrongs was declared a public crime."[280]

Home News also had some caustic comments to make on the law of libel in India. "The question which strikes the intelligence of the English people," wrote the editor, "is whether a prosecution for libel on such a ground should have been instituted at all. What is to become of our vaunts in India of free speech, and political liberty, and the rights which men acquire under our happy and liberal constitution, if this kind of general satire — granting it to be a satire — this species of discussion of public interests in popular shapes, is to be dealt with as a matter of libel and scandal? ... There was nothing whatever in the publication that could be tortured into a libel, to the satisfaction of the reason of an English jury in

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280. Times, 12, 15, 17 October 1861.

England."[281]

The independent Saturday Review and the Liberal Spectator drew attention to the value of Long's past activities and to the honesty of his intentions. The Spectator argued that no individual had been attacked in the play and that "nothing, in short, was said, except what Mr. Reynolds says every day of the English aristocracy and every foreign refugee of the British press."[282] The Saturday Review believed that the question of libel was extremely intricate, but felt that neither Seton-Karr nor Long should be blamed for the part they played. "The intention, both of Mr. Long and Mr. Seton-Karr, was so excellent," wrote the editor, "and the general principle of letting us here know what the natives think, is so valuable, that we cannot seriously blame either."[283] The Examiner, another Saturday paper, but of less importance, said very little about the part Long had played in the Nil Darpan episode and declared quite simply that the whole affair had already attracted

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281. Quoted in J. Murdoch Indian Year Book for 1861, p.16.
282. Spectator, 14 September 1861.
283. Saturday Review, 14 September 1861.

too much official attention.[284]

The Liberal Daily Telegraph,[285] also avoided detailed discussion, but the Liberal Daily News — next in influence to the Times itself — was less restrained. It claimed that the Nil Darpan exaggerated the harsher aspects of the indigo system, but that for this reason it was all the more important as a mirror, not of indigo planting, but of Bengali public opinion. The editor referred to Long's work in connection with vernacular literature and, quoting one of Long's own statements, argued that he had drawn attention to the play, not for the purpose of controversy, but as an illustration of Bengali feeling. The paper described the prosecution as "a piece of childish revenge" and, in conclusion, stressed the great importance of Government officials and other Europeans being acquainted with the feelings and opinions, and even the errors and prejudices, of the Bengali

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284. Examiner, 5 October 1861.
Useful information dealing with the history, attitudes, party affiliations and influence of British newspapers during this period can be obtained in C. Mitchell and Co. Newspaper Press Directory and Advertisers' Guide (thoroughly revised for the year 1861) and H.R. Fox Bourne English Newspapers — Chapters in the History of Journalism, vol.II, London 1887.

285. Daily Telegraph, 17 September 1861.

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people.

In contrast to the Daily News, the two Conservative papers, the Morning Herald and the Standard, both argued that the prosecution was well deserved. The editor of the Standard, who nevertheless described Long as "a gentleman of a reputation for both honesty and ability," stated that it would have been better if he had refrained from "meddling in matters in which he should have no concern." He wondered why, if it was the intention of Long and Seton-Karr to inform Europeans of Bengali feeling, they had not sent pamphlets to the planters and their supporters, and why the play had not been circulated with an explanatory note. The editor pointed out that the jury's verdict not only had the approval of Sir Mordaunt Wells, but was endorsed by Sir Barnes Peacock whom he described as one of the ablest men in India. The paper opposed the idea that the jury's verdict endangered the freedom of the press and, finally, it was stated that in England "we should surely acquiesce in the punishment of Mr. Long had he been guilty of a

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286. Daily News, 10 September 1861. Other papers which condemned the prosecution and defended Long's conduct were the Overland Mail (18 September 1861) and the Evangelical Christendom (1 November 1861)-the organ of the Evangelical Alliance (see footnote 182 p.144).

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similar offence against any class in this country."

One may be tempted to see in these press reactions some differences in the Conservative and Liberal attitude to Long and the Nil Darpan episode. But this survey has been limited in scope. Moreover, the existence of any marked difference in attitude based on party seems unlikely, since, at this time, party loyalties and affiliations were confused. There was considerable agreement between Liberals and Conservatives on many important issues. What was probably of greater importance in determining the attitude of newspaper editors to Long's imprisonment were their sources of information. The Saturday Review and the Liberal Daily News seem to have been extremely well informed on the whole case. Both papers had been sent copies of the Nil Darpan before news arrived of Long's prosecution and both editors stated that it had never occurred to them, when they first read the play, that it had been sent to them for any reason other than that it was an interesting

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reflection of Bengali feeling. The editors of the

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287. Morning Herald, 13 September 1861; Standard, 16 September 1861.

288. Bengal Hurkaru, 23 July 1861 (Seton-Karr's Distribution List); Saturday Review, 14 September 1861; Daily News, 10 September 1861.

Standard and Morning Herald, however, were badly informed. The editor of the Standard, for example, had obviously not read the play and accepted without question the claim that it contained "the grossest libels upon the indigo planters — and not only upon them, but upon the honour of their wives" and he even stated that Long himself paid for the printing of the pamphlet. He also stated that the English translation of the play would have prejudiced Bengalis further against the planters as "the knowledge of English is very widely diffused in Bengal" [289] — whereas, in fact, only a small minority of the population was even literate.

Henry Venn and the C.M.S. Parent Committee appear never to have doubted Long's integrity or disapproved of his conduct — in spite of fears among a few of Long's supporters in Bengal that they might condemn him. Long himself was confident that the Parent Committee would give him their full support. "Mr. Venn," he wrote many years later, "had a wonderful insight into the bearings of the social condition of a people on their religious

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289. Standard, 16 September 1861.

progress and I recollect when in jail in Calcutta the firm conviction I had that Mr. Venn and the Committee would thoroughly understand my position in relation to the oppression of Natives in the Indigo districts."[290]

The Committee was kept well informed of events by their Secretary in Calcutta the Rev. Stuart (whose sympathetic attitude towards Long has been discussed) and they also received letters from the Rev. Bomwetsch, Macleod Wylie and probably others as well explaining the situation and expressing complete approval of Long's conduct.[291]

On 27 August, the Committee received a letter from Stuart informing them of the jury's verdict and of the move by Long's counsel for an arrest of judgment.[292] Three days later, W.A.Eddis, one of the planters' representatives in London, wrote calling upon the Committee to express their disapproval of Long's conduct and urging them to declare him "unfit for his position as a Christian

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290. C.M.S. CI1/0185/107 Long to Secs. of C.M.S., 21 February 1873.
291. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Bomwetsch to Secs. of C.M.S., 6 July 1861; CI1/M16 Wylie to Venn, 30 July 1861. See also reference to a letter from Duff in appendix to C.M.S. Minute on the Conviction and Imprisonment of the Rev. James Long for LIBEL.
292. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 22 July 1861.

Missionary." The Committee, obviously annoyed, decided to inform Mr. Eddis "that while they would have been ready to receive with their best attention any communication from him, as the representative of the Indigo Planters, on the conduct of their Missionaries on the Indigo question, before recourse had been taken to legal proceedings; yet, as in the present instance, the party whom Mr. Eddis represents have sought their remedy against Mr. Long in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, this Committee must decline to enter, with these parties, into further discussion of the case."[293]

When news of the sentence on Long arrived with the Bombay mail on 9 September Venn wrote immediately assuring him of the Committee's deepest sympathy and of their conviction that his motives throughout had been "most Christian and honourable". "We are persuaded," he wrote, "that neither your Christian character nor the righteous cause you espouse will in the end suffer: but in the meantime," he added "we pray that your health and spirits, and Mrs. Long's may be sustained... ."[294]

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293. C.M.S. Committee Minutes, 3 September 1861.
294. C.M.S. CI1/M16 Stuart to Venn, 30 July 1861;
C.M.S. CI1/L5 Venn to Long, 9 September 1861.

The next day Venn also wrote reassuringly to the Rev. Stuart. "The case of Mr. Long has occupied the very anxious attention of the Comee," he began. "All the documents which you & he have furnished have been carefully examined, and the Comee are thankful to say that they discover nothing affecting the Christian character or honourable motives of their Missionary & they deeply sympathize with him in the extraordinary trial to which he has been subjected.

"They regard Mr. Long as the unfortunate victim of a generous sympathy with the oppressed: & they class his case with many other excellent men who have been subject to similar treatment while a moral conflict has been in progress for the relief of the oppressed as in the case of the Missionary Dr. Philip at the Cape & the Missionary Smith in the West Indies. The Comee. have a good hope that neither the Missionary cause nor the good name of Mr. Long will eventually suffer."[295]

A week later, the Committee passed a formal resolution assuring Long of their "undiminished confidence in his Missionary character and uprightness of intention." They also asked the Secretaries to prepare a statement

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295. CI1/L5 Venn to Stuart, 10 September 1861.

of the case for the information of friends of the Society in England.[296] This statement, entitled "Minute on the Conviction and Imprisonment of the Rev. James Long for Libel," was drawn up as requested and submitted to a meeting of the Committee on 24 September.[297] A few minor alterations were made and the Minute was published. It was an able, extremely well documented defence of Long's motives and conduct.[298]

In their statement, the Committee declared that Long had "in no way" dishonoured his sacred profession and they pointed out that Seton-Karr had been mainly responsible for the circulation of the pamphlet under Government frank. They explained that, in his summing up, the judge narrowed down the question of libel to the question of motive and that the jury had found Long guilty of malice. "But looking at the matter from a moral point of view," they wrote, "the Committee unhesitatingly express their conviction — a conviction grounded upon a long and intimate

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296. C.M.S. Committee Minutes, 17 September 1861.
297. ibid., 24 September 1861; CI1/L5 Venn to Stuart, 26 September 1861.
298. Minute on the Conviction and Imprisonment of the Rev. James Long for Libel, London 1861.

acquaintance with Mr. Long's character — that the true motives of their Missionary were precisely those which are described by the judge as taking the publication out of the category of LIBEL. His motives, they are persuaded, were free from animosity, pure, and disinterested: his aim and wish were, in all good faith, to discharge what he — and many others — deemed to be a public duty."

CHAPTER VI
The Closing Years, 1865 - 1872

After a period away from India of more than three years, Long was given his final instructions by the C.M.S. Parent Committee in June 1865.[1] The Committee noted that he had won "the confidence of the native society" and he was expected to turn this to good account for "the furtherance of the Gospel" — but few other specific instructions were given and the Parent and Calcutta Corresponding Committees[2] allowed him almost complete freedom to work out his own plans and strategy.

He took this as an opportunity in the years that followed, to pay even closer attention to the sort of obstacles which he believed hindered the progress of Christianity. He was even less concerned than formerly with the task of immediate evangelism and came to regard almost all of his work as preparation for the evangelistic activities of others. But even though this preparatory type of work was undramatic and seldom produced immediate visible results (something missionary supporters at home usually wanted to see) Long himself

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1. W. Knight Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn, pp.516-517.
2. C.M.S. CI1/O1/521 Calcutta Corresponding Committee Minutes, 9 May 1866.

believed it was of fundamental importance and, referring to his plans in a letter to Henry Venn in December 1865, he remarked that "it is something to help drain a swamp even though you are not privileged to sow in it — other men may enter into this labor and reap the advantages directly."[3] He deliberately involved himself in "secular" activities — but for religious reasons — and conformed less to the popular idea of a missionary (one who "preaches" to the people) than most of his colleagues.

Conversion was very seldom, if ever, his immediate aim. Experience had long since taught him that there was little prospect of the educated Calcutta classes being converted in large numbers to Christianity and hence, in Calcutta, one of his main aims was simply to lessen their prejudices against it.[4] But he was also fully aware of the formidable obstacles which checked or hampered the progress of Christianity in rural areas and his experience in the villages in the 1850's — and perhaps also his contact with Lord Shaftesbury and other social reformers in England — strengthened his conviction that educational and social factors conditioned people's response to Christianity.

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3. C.M.S. CI1/0185/91 Long to Venn, 22 December 1865.
4. ibid.

He still felt that some degree of literacy and education was necessary for a proper appreciation of Christianity and hence he persisted in his efforts to promote the spread of elementary education.[5] He was also convinced that education itself was to some extent dependent on an improvement in material conditions. "The poor ryot, or rather serf," he wrote in 1869, "has much to endure, trampled on by his landlord, and leading a miserable life... While the labours of the Christian Vernacular Education Society are valuable", he continued, "they are in urgent need of being supplemented by the labours of Christian friends to give the ryot security of tenure, so that he may be able to educate his children; without this mere educational efforts will have little result."[6] And even though, the indigo question had been partially settled, Long continued to feel that the social condition of the ryots presented one of the greatest obstacles to the success of evangelism in general.[7] For this, and possibly for

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5. C.M.S. CI1/0185/92 Long to Venn, 22 January 1866; CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866; CI1/0185/142 Annual Letter 1871.
6. Report of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S., 1869, Calcutta 1870.
7. See, for example, his reference to the zamindari system C.M.S. CI1/0185/120 Journal, 21 February 1866.

other reasons as well, he attempted to create an interest among educated Indians and Europeans in the social condition of the masses and an enthusiasm for social reform.

Added to his desire to foster the physical and psychological conditions which he believed conducive to Christianity was his continuing belief in the importance of preparing literature and methods of communication which could be used in direct evangelism — a task which he generally felt could be left to others.

When he returned to Calcutta in 1865, he noted, with some justification, that racial feelings were still poisoning relations between Bengalis and Europeans and he claimed that this feeling created further prejudice against Christianity.[8] The two races seldom met at social gatherings[9] and Long interviewed a number of influential Europeans suggesting that something might

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8. C.M.S. CI1/0125/119 Journal, 16 December 1865; CI1/0185/95 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866.
9. Friend of India, 14 June 1866.

be done to improve relations by holding soirées,[10] which would bring the two sides together in a friendly atmosphere, "thus diminishing antagonism of race and preparing both parties to take a deeper interest in each other."[11]

A soirée along these lines was organized by some of the C.M.S. missionaries in April 1866 — though it is by no means certain that Long played any important part in its organization. It was something of an experiment and was held in the house of the Rev. J.Barton, Principal of the new C.M.S. Cathedral Mission College. "We invited about 25 of our European friends & the same number of Natives," wrote Barton. "Mr. Woodrow kindly helped us to make the evening pass off by shewing us some Electrical Expts., — the rest of the time was spent in conversation just as one would at an evening party at home."[12] The missionaries may have been hoping to improve race relations, but, according to Barton,

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10. C.M.S. CI1/0185/119 Journal, 16 December 1865; 1, 8 February 1866.
11. C.M.S. CI1/0185/121 Journal, 16 May 1866.
12. C.M.S. CI1/037/48 Barton to Dawes, 21 April 1866; CI1/0185/120 Long's Journal, 12 April 1866; S. Cotton Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton (1872 ed.), p.366.

the evening on this occasion was arranged "with a view to gaining influence among the ex-students of the Presidency College & the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj."[13] The Bishop and Mrs. Cotton, Long and other C.M.S. missionaries were among the Europeans present, while the Bengali guests included Keshabchandra Sen, five of his friends and Abdul Latif, the Muslim member of the Legislative Council. Keshabchandra's impression of the evening can be gathered from his comments in the Indian Mirror. "Such meetings," he remarked, "are admirably calculated to promote good feelings and harmony between the Europeans and Natives, and we trust Mr. Barton will persevere in his efforts, It is needless to say that it rests mainly with the Missionaries, as peace-makers, to remove that spirit of bitter antipathy and rancour which so violently rages between the two races."[14]

While arrangements were being made for this soiree, which according to Long was for "the middle and younger class of natives," he and the Bishop were discussing plans for another evening, "designed for the upper stratum."[15] This too was to be something of an

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13. C.M.S. CI1/037/48 Barton to Dawes, 21 April 1866.
14. C.M.S. CI1/037/48 (cutting attached to letter) Barton to Dawes, 21 April 1866.
15. C.M.S. CI1/0185/119 Long's Journal, 8 February 1866; CI1/0185/121 Long's Journal, 16 May 1866.

innovation, as it seems that the Bishop's previous gatherings were organized for Europeans only.[16] Long gave the Bishop various names and sent out the invitations.[17] The gathering, which was bigger than Barton's soirée, was held at the Bishop's Palace on 8 June.[18] This also seems to have been a notable success. George Smith, editor of the Friend of India was present and wrote an account of the evening in an editorial.[19] "The Bishop of Calcutta has successfully attempted to revive the friendliness of thirty years ago," he wrote. "The Palace was on Friday evening last the scene of a very successful conversazione, in which some eighty native and English gentlemen met each other on the footing of social kindliness...The Bishop and the Missionaries chatted with orthodox Brahmins and Moulvees on the events of the day, the High Court Judges discussed cake and champagne with Vakells, English ladies smiled on educated Baboos from Benares and Lucknow as well as Calcutta, who were not yet so far

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16. S. Cotton Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton (1872 ed.), p.366.
17. C.M.S. CI1/0185/121 Long's Journal, 16 May 1866; C.M.R., vol.XII, new series, December 1867, p.379.
18. C.M.S. CI1/0185/121 Long's Journal, 8 June 1866; Church Missionary Intelligencer, June 1867, p.190.
19. Friend of India, 14 June 1866.

advanced as to bring their wives with them; and several Native Christian gentlemen — one with his wife — completed the collection of creeds and classes. Music, pictures and other works of art lent a grace to the whole."

The Bishop's soirée was by no means the last of its kind. Two more were organized by his successor, Bishop Milman, in about 1867[20] and it appears that Bengalis as well as other Europeans began taking a much greater interest in this type of social activity. In February 1867, for example, Long attended "a grand party given by a Native pleader"[21] and he noted that many of the leading members of European and Bengali society were also there. In December of the same year, he also attended a soirée given by Sir Richard Temple "to the Native gentry".[22] These and similar social gatherings very probably did help to break down racial feeling — as Long had been hoping they would — and in his Annual Report for 1867, he noted with obvious pleasure that "one of the cheering signs of the times is the diminution here in Calcutta of that bitter feeling

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20. C.M.S. CI1/0185/99 Long to Venn, 9 March 1868.
21. C.M.S. CI1/0185/123 Long's Journal, 18 February 1867.
22. C.M.S. CI1/0185/124 Long's Journal, 17 December 1867.

between Europeans and Natives which was so strong some years ago."[23]

One of Long's main objectives during this period was to stimulate an interest in Indian social problems and encourage the formation of social science societies. He had already had experience organizing the social science section of the Bethune Society[24] and felt that social science societies might not only help bridge the gulf between Europeans and Bengalis, but also between different sections of Bengali or Indian society. "India is distracted by class and race animosity," he said, "Brahmin and Sudra, Zemindar and Ryot, European and Native, Bengali and Punjabi are often in hostile array, and one cause is, they do not understand each other, as the proverb has it, one half of the world does not know how the other half lives — now mutual sympathy can be generated only by mutual knowledge ...The great object of Social Science is to bridge over the chasms that divide the different classes of society."[25] He believed that knowledge is "the basis of real sympathy"

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23. C.M.S. CI1/0185/139, Annual Report 1867.
24. Ch. IV pp .224-227.
25. Family Literary Club: Proceedings of the Ninth Anniversary, 27 April 1866, pp.27-28; C.M.S. CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866; CI1/0185/139 Annual Report 1866.

and that social science would excite sympathy in particular for the condition of the masses.[26] Moreover, he expected that, by making inquiries into the social condition of the people and by publishing data, social science societies could stir up public opinion in both Bengal and England and speed up the process of social reform. Addressing the Family Literary Club on the subject in April 1866, he pointed out that the Social Science Association of England was founded in 1857 to coordinate efforts "for social advancement" and, quoting from one of Lord Shaftesbury's speeches, he stated that "we want a vast and constantly increasing accumulation of recent details to illustrate the power of present and approaching mischiefs so as to force the public by the induction of copious particulars to come to the same view as ourselves, and so arrive at an effective conclusion."[27] But Long also hoped that the data collected by social science societies would convince missionary societies that they were, in fact, wasting a great deal of money by promoting direct evangelism without first paying adequate attention to the social

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26. C.M.S. CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866; CI1/0185/96 Long to Venn, 8 January 1867; CI1/0185/119 Journal, 16 December 1865.
27. Family Literary Club: Proceedings of the Ninth Anniversary, 27 April 1866, p.25.

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conditions which hindered the spread of Christianity. On one occasion, for example, he suggested that various missionary schemes "though involving a large expenditure, proved in practice fruitless because not based on a knowledge of the social condition of the people." The missionaries, he declared, "were sowing seed in an undrained swamp".[29]

Soon after his return to Calcutta, Long began attempting to stir up Bengali and European public opinion. He had kept for circulation a large number of copies of a lecture he read on Indian social questions before the Royal Asiatic Society and selections from his address were translated into Bengali.[30] He called a number of meetings — mainly of educated Bengalis — and organized discussion groups on social science in Calcutta and in various parts of the Mofussil, including Suri, Krishnagar and Murshidabad.[31] At these meetings he not only dwelt on the value of social science *per se*, but pointed out its particular relevance to India and,

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28. C.M.S. CI1/0185/119 Long's Journal, 16 December 1865, CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866; CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866; CI1/0185/96 Long to Venn, 8 January 1867.
29. C.M.S. CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866.
30. C.M.S. CI1/0185/119 Long's Journal, 16 December 1865; CI1/0185/120 Journal, 25 April 1866; J.E.Carpenter *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, London 1879, p.337.
31. C.M.S. CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866; M.Carpenter *Six Months in India*, London 1868, vol.1, p.218.

secondly, drew attention to the work of the "Christian philanthropists" in England, as he felt that this would help break down prejudice against Christianity and show that "the flower of Charity springs from the Christian faith."[32]

When towards the end of 1866, Miss Mary Carpenter, a Unitarian social reformer and member of the Social Science Association in England, arrived in Bengal on a private visit, she lectured to European and Indian audiences on various social problems. In Calcutta she stayed with an Indian friend, Dr. Chuckerbutty, and then at Government House as a guest of Sir John and Lady Lawrence. She was introduced to a large number of Government officials, educated Indians and missionaries and met Long at a dinner given by Dr. Chuckerbutty.[33] It was apparently there that she learnt "with great satisfaction," that Long had been attempting to excite an interest in social science and had instituted a number of "discussion societies", and it was there that

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32. C.M.S. CI1/0185/94 Long to Venn, 1 September 1866; Family Literary Club, Proceedings etc., 27 April 1866, pp.19-22; C.M.S. CI1/0185/120 Journal, 10 March 1866; CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866.

33. M. Carpenter Six Months in India, vol.1, p.167; C.M.S. CI1/0185/120 Long's Journal, 22 January 1867.

he suggested the setting up of a Social Science Association in Calcutta along the lines of the English organization.[34] "This appeared a very desirable though almost a hopeless undertaking," wrote Miss Carpenter, "for there are not in India, as in England, a number of gentlemen of both influence and leisure, who would make it no less a duty than a pleasure to promote the objects of such an institution, by taking the labouring oar in the management. Mr. Long was not, however, to be easily daunted by difficulties."[35]

A meeting of Indians and Europeans interested in the idea was arranged more easily than expected and took place in the rooms of the Asiatic Society on 17 December 1866. Sir John and Lady Lawrence attended, Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant-Governor, presided and, as a result of the meeting, a provisional committee was formed to consider the practicability of organizing an Association.[36] They met in Miss Carpenter's rooms in

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34. M. Carpenter Six Months in India, vol.1, p.218; J.E. Carpenter The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter, p.337; C.M.S. CI1/0185/120 Long's Journal, 22 January 1867.
35. M. Carpenter Six Months in India, vol.1, p.218.
36. ibid., pp.218-219; Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association, First Session, July 1867, vol.1, Calcutta 1867 (introduction).

Government House and a sub-committee of three, composed of Seton-Karr, Long and Pearychand Mitra, was requested to draft a scheme for the constitution and organization of the proposed Society.[37] The new Society, known as the Bengal Social Science Association, was officially inaugurated in January 1867.[38]

The object of the Association, according to the prospectus, was "to promote the development of social progress in the Presidency of Bengal, by uniting Europeans and Natives of all classes in the collection, arrangement, and classification of facts bearing on the social, intellectual, and moral condition of the people."[39] The Association was organized along much the same lines as the Bethune Society in the 1850's. Members were divided into four departments, law, education, health, trade and commerce; they undertook research into their respective subjects and presented short papers at

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37. M. Carpenter Six Months in India, vol.1, p.219; J.E. Carpenter The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter, pp.237-238; C.M.S. CI1/0185/123 Long's Journal, 3 January 1867.
38. Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association, First Session, July 1867, vol.1, (introduction); M. Carpenter Six Months in India, vol.1, p.219.
39. Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association, vol.1 (introduction).

periodical meetings. Many distinguished Europeans and Indians were connected with the Association and speakers among the latter included the Revs. K.M. Bannerjea and Lal Behari Day, and Chandranath Bose, Abdul Latif and Keshabchandra Sen. Long was closely connected with the Association until he left India in 1872. He was on the Council and, in 1870, was chairman of the section on education. He took an active part in discussion and read papers on Bengali proverbs, the social condition of the Muslims in Bengal, aspects of social life in Calcutta and Bombay and on village communities in India and Russia.[40]

His determination to stimulate an understanding of social life in India is not only reflected in his activities connected with the Social Science Association, but also in his work as a member of the Government Record Commission. Under Lord Canning, the Government proposed destroying all "useless" historical records and set up a Committee of three to select the best for preservation.[41] Long, who accepted the position with

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40. Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association, vol.I, Part I; vol.II, Part I, pp.135-142, Part II, pp.187-211; vol.III, Part I, pp.1-17; vol.IV, pp.9-83; vol.VI, pp.22-68.
41. Hindoo Patriot, 8 May 1861; C.M.S. CI1/0185/72 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 7 May 1861.

some reluctance,[42] confined his attention to records reflecting various aspects of social life in Bengal in the latter part of the eighteenth century and, in 1869, his Selections from Unpublished Records of Government relating mainly to social conditions in Bengal between 1748 and 1767[43] was published under the sanction of the Government of India. Long seems to have hoped that this publication would stimulate an interest in social conditions[44] and in his preface wrote that its object was "to give all that can be gleaned from the Records tending to illustrate the social state of Bengal during part of last century among Europeans and Natives, and all that is strictly embraced in the domain of Social Science, specially in relation to the people."

He also continued during this period to draw attention to the importance of the vernacular press as an exponent of "the views of the people."[45] At the

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42. He was feeling particularly sensitive at the time about criticism that he was spending too much time involved in "secular" activities and consulted Duff and some of the other missionaries before coming to a decision.
43. Calcutta 1867.
44. C.M.S. CI1/0185/72 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 7 May 1861.
45. C.M.S. CI1/0185/96 Long to Venn, 8 January 1867.

request of the Commissioners of the Paris Exhibition of 1867, he compiled a descriptive catalogue of vernacular books and pamphlets which the Government of India were collecting together for the exhibition. This gave him an opportunity, he wrote, "to set forth the Native Mind as reflected in the Native Press."[46] He also hoped it would draw more attention to "the mental and religious food of the masses" — presumably in the expectation that this would encourage the creation of more vernacular Christian literature.[47] A brief notice of Long's catalogue appeared in the Calcutta Review in May 1867.[48] The reviewer, who remarked that there was probably no European in India "better acquainted with Bengali literature than Mr. Long", observed that his catalogue "cannot fail to prove of considerable utility and importance."

When engaged in this work Long encountered considerable difficulty in drawing up lists of vernacular publications, as there was no system of compulsory registration. As a result of representations from the

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46. C.M.S. CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866.
47. C.M.S. CI1/0185/96 Long to Venn, 8 January 1867.
48. Calcutta Review, vol.45, No.LXXXIX, May 1867, pp.218-219.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain in 1863, the Government of India had introduced a system of voluntary registration, but this was not proving successful.[49] Soon after his return to India in 1865, Long interviewed Sir Cecil Beadon (the Lieutenant-Governor) Sir John Lawrence and other Government officials on the question.[50] A Bill, providing for the compulsory registration of vernacular publications, was introduced in the Legislative Council;[51] a revision committee of four was appointed, Long was summoned for consultation[52] and the Bill was eventually passed as Act XXV of 1867. "The advantage of this to Government in giving them an insight or /glimmer/ at the condition and feelings of the people is obvious," he wrote, "and it may help to hasten a reform long needed in Missions, that the Home Societies may have the benefit of Native opinion and not be as now dependent on the reports of foreign missionaries. We missionaries and I write strongly from personal feeling

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49. ibid. and Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India, vol.VI, (1867) pp.58-59.
50. C.M.S. CI1/0185/121 Journal 9 May 1866; CI1/0185/123 Journal, 23, 24 January 1867.
51. Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India, vol.VI,(1867) pp.58-59, 100-102, 103, 135, 179, 193, 229-231.
52. C.M.S. CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866.

cannot sound the depths of Native sentiment and gauge the popular Mind, we may guess, but it is the Natives themselves who must by their press make us acquainted with the diverse currents that flow under the surface and which have such a strong reflex influence on Missionary operations."[53]

In spite of Long's complaints about missionaries neglecting vernacular education, the number of children educated in missionary vernacular schools, according to an official missionary publication,[54] nearly trebled over the period 1861 to 1871, and rose from 5,396 pupils in 1861 to 15,013 in 1871, while the number in English schools rose only by 472 — from 6,369 in 1861 to 6,841 in 1871.

This rapid expansion in missionary vernacular education resulted largely from a development of the circle school system, encouraged by grants from the Christian Vernacular Education Society, as well as by increased Government aid. The C.V.E.S. began giving grants for the increase of missionary circle schools

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53. ibid.
54. Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions in India, Ceylon and Burma for 1871, prepared at the request of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, Calcutta 1873.

as"an experiment" in 1863, and by the end of 1871, was, in this way, helping to support the education of one third of the total number of pupils in missionary vernacular schools.[55]

The circle school system, which was worked by the Bengal Government as well as by missionaries to an increasing extent in the 1860's, was described by Long in a letter to Sir John Lawrence in August 1867.[56] "A circle is generally composed of three schools, situated a few miles from each other," he wrote, "the master or guru of each school receives a monthly bonus from Government or private persons, varying according to the number and proficiency of his pupils: he also receives fees from them in money or food, his defective instruction is supplemented by a superior teacher, who devotes two days a week in each school in rotation." As seen in an earlier chapter, Long encouraged the Bengal Government to adopt this system in the 1850's[57]

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55. Christian Vernacular Education Society of India, Annual Report 1871. By this time the Society was supporting 20 circles comprised of 117 schools providing an education for more than 5,122 children, almost equivalent to the total number educated in all the mission vernacular schools in 1861.
56. Government of Bengal, Education Proceedings, 28 October 1867, No.5876.
57. Ch.II pp.130-134.

and during this period he continued to press both Government and missionaries for further expansion in vernacular education along these lines. The system was, in his opinion, "extremely economical", utilized the indigenous school masters, "without exciting their hostility", and could be used by missionaries "to secure the great object of diffusing, at a small cost, sound and scriptural instruction among the masses; serving as an introduction to the Missionary among the villages, and of preparing the people for the intelligent reading of the Scriptures."[58]

But although there was considerable expansion in missionary vernacular education in general in the 1860's, the C.M.S. missionaries doubted the value of entering any further into this type of work, and in 1864, drew up a resolution against the multiplication of vernacular schools. They stated that "as regards the Secular Education given in them, they are well nigh superseded by the numerous Government and Native Schools now in existence; and although the good effects they have hitherto produced in the way of breaking down

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58. C.M.S. CI1/0185/99 Long to Venn, 9 March 1868; Government of Bengal, Education Proceedings, No.5876 Long to Lawrence, 28 October 1867. Report of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S. 1869; Some Account of the Origin, Object and Operations of the C.V.E.S. for India, Calcutta 1866, p.16.

prejudice and diffusing an intellectual acquaintance with Christianity are acknowledged, yet even for these purposes they are now by no means so much needed as formerly, and their results upon the whole (especially as regards conversion to Christianity) have not been such as to inspire the confidence that even with an increase of outlay and of European Superintendence they will be found to further to any great extent the work of the Gospel."[59]

And while, on the one hand, the C.M.S. opened an expensive new English college (the Cathedral Mission College) in Calcutta, in 1865, they closed their vernacular boarding schools. These were originally established for the benefit of converts' children. It had been found that Christian parents, like others, seldom valued vernacular education for its own sake and the missionaries, anxious to provide their children with sound instruction, attempted to break down the parents' prejudice by feeding and clothing their children in boarding schools at the expense of the mission.[60] But it was eventually realized

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59. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/31 Bengal District Conference Report, 11-13 October 1864.
60. C.M.S. CI1/0299/37 Vaughan's Annual Letter for 1862; CI1/04/4/25 Bengal District Conference Report, 7-9 November 1860.

that this system created more problems than it solved. It was felt that Christian parents avoided normal parental responsibilities.[61] "Is it not monstrous," wrote the Rev. Vaughan, "to think that whilst heathens & Mussalmans all around maintain their own children, Xians refuse to do this — actually claim exemption from that law of nature wh. makes a parent responsible for the support of his own offspring."[62] Secondly, it was believed that the boarding schools fostered a spirit of unhealthy dependence on the mission and frustrated attempts to create self-supporting Christian communities.[63] These difficulties were discussed by the C.M.S. missionaries at several of their conferences and the boarding schools were finally abolished in the early 1860's.

Long, on the other hand, was annoyed to find that the boarding schools at Thakurpukur had been closed during his absence. He approved "most cordially" of measures "tending to foster a spirit of independence in Native Christians,"[64] but he stressed that, as peasants

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61. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/25 Bengal District Conference Report, 7-9 November 1860.
62. C.M.S. CI1/0299/37 Vaughan's Annual Letter for 1862.
63. ibid.and CI1/04/4/25 Bengal District Conference Report, 7-9 November 1860.
64. C.M.S. CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866.

did not value education for its own sake, they had to be given some form of inducement such as that provided by the boarding school system. He complained that he could no longer give children "an improved vernacular education" as before and he pointed out that all his teachers had been brought up in the boarding schools and that he could not get teachers from anywhere else.[65] "The ladder," he wrote, "has been cut from under me."

In 1866, he agreed to take over the superintendence of about 13 vernacular schools in the Thakurpukur area which provided an education for more than 900 pupils.[66] Reports at the end of the year show that these schools were then divided into four main circles, the Bonhoogly and Borsia circles, supported by the C.V.E.S., and the Thakurpukur and Ramnagar circles which received some Government assistance and were examined by a Government inspector.[67] Long frequently travelled in the district inspecting and examining these various schools.[68]

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65. ibid.; CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866; CI1/0185/139 Annual Report 1867; CI1/0185/124 Journal,21 November 1867.
66. C.M.S. CI1/0185/92 Long to Venn, 22 January 1866; CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866.
67. C.M.S. CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866; Report of the Operations of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S. for India, 1866.
68. C.M.S. CI1/0185/119 Long's Journal, 26 December 1865, 16 February 1866; CI1/0185/120 Journal, 4 May 1866; CI1/0185/124 Journal, 8 December 1867; CI1/0185/125 Journal,18 November 1868.

He also organized teachers' conferences and supervised his Christian teachers who acted as sub-inspectors.[69]

As in the 1850's, some of Long's schools, particularly those closest to Thakurpukur, were visited by Government officials, bishops, missionaries and other interested Europeans.[70] Mary Carpenter spent a day with Long at Thakurpukur, probably towards the end of 1866, and described some of his circle schools in an account of her Indian travels. "I gladly accepted his invitation to accompany him to a station some miles from the city," she wrote "...after a time a little hedge-school appeared, of a very primitive nature, being held in an open shed with the ordinary surroundings of cottage life. The children were sitting with palm-leaves in their hands, inscribing unknown characters

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69. C.M.S. CI1/0185/120 Long's Journal, 5 May 1866; CI1/0185/119 Journal, 20 January 1866; CI1/0185/92 Long to Venn, 22 January 1866.
70. Visitors, apart from Government and C.V.E.S. inspectors, included Sir John Lawrence, Lord Napier (Lieutenant-Governor of Madras), Bishops Cotton and Milman (Bishops of Calcutta), the Bishop of Bombay, Revs.Stern (C.M.S.), Stuart (C.M.S.) and Sherring(L.M.S.) and Mary Carpenter. /C.M.S. CI1/0185/99 Long to Venn,9 March 1868; CI1/0185/96 Long to Venn,8 January 1867; CI1/0185/123 Journal,21 March 1867; CI1/0185/124 Journal, 15 December 1867; S. Cotton Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton (1872 ed.) pp.367-368; M. Carpenter Six Months in India, vol.1, pp.189-191; M.A. Sherring The History of Protestant Missions in India (1875 ed.) p.127/.

on them with bits of stick, dipped in some sooty composition to serve as a pen. This primitive mode of writing is in great favour in these parts, having the advantage of cheapness, and also of obliging the scholar to write his lesson correctly at once, as no erasure is possible...I was much surprised at the advance in learning which was indicated by the questions put to them by Mr. Long; their answers showed much intelligence and mastery of ideas. Among other subjects he questioned them on natural history, with the leading divisions of the animal kingdom and many scientific terms; they answered admirably, and proved, by the illustrations they gave from familiar animals, that they thoroughly understood what they were saying, and that this was no word-knowledge. Mr. Long has adopted the excellent plan of dividing the time of one thoroughly trained teacher among a number of these village schools, giving a day to each; he thus instructs the teacher, and introduces a higher standard into the schools, especially as he himself not unfrequently visits them."[71]

Bishop Cotton also visited Long's schools at about this time — only a few months before his death

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71. M. Carpenter Six Months in India, vol.I, pp.189-191.

in October 1866. He was undoubtedly well informed on educational matters and according to his biographer (who attempted as faithfully as possible to reflect the Bishop's own views on different subjects) he was "very much pleased" by what he saw and "the schools proved on examination to be quite as good as an average English village school, were thoroughly native in idea and appearance, and yet had received a most successful infusion of a Western and Christian element."[72]

Yet it seems most unlikely that either the Bishop or Miss Carpenter had the time or inclination to visit all of Long's 13 or more circle schools — in any case it may not have been possible to do this in one day or less — the period they both spent at Thakurpukur. They probably saw a selection which included many of Long's better class schools, and their enthusiasm has to be balanced against the reports of the C.V.E.S. and Government inspectors for the same year. These suggest that some of Long's schools, in 1866, were not in fact, in a satisfactory condition. While the Government

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72. S.Cottor Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton (1872 ea.) pp.367-368; Report of the Operations of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S. for India, 1866, p.32.

inspector classified the C.M.S. school at Thakurpukur, together with 32 others of a similar type in the 24-Parganas, as "moderate", the C.M.S. school at Ramnagar, probably also under Long's supervision, was classified as "bad."[73] The C.V.E.S. inspector commented favourably on the standards reached in secular subjects in the Borsia circle, but was not satisfied with the standard of religious instruction and stressed that the Bonhooghly circle was "not in a satisfactory state."[74]

But Long had only recently resumed the work of supervision and took over many schools he had never supervised before and, in spite of difficulties, aggravated by famine and epidemic,[75] even the worst of his schools were considerably improved by 1870. According to the Government Report the school at Thakurpukur was further improved and the one at Ramnagar raised from "bad" to "moderate".[76] The Rev. Sherring of of the L.M.S., who visited Long's schools at about this time, stated that they were in a state of "high efficiency"

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73. G.R.P.I., 1866-1867, Appendix A.
74. Report of the Operations of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S. for India, 1866, pp.29-30.
75. ibid. and Report of the Bengal Branch of the C.V.E.S., 1869.
76. G.R.P.I., 1869-1870, Appendix D.

and the C.V.E.S. inspectors, whose reports were apparently much more favourable, were particularly impressed with the standards of religious instruction — precisely that aspect of the teaching criticised most severely in 1866.[77]

The children in Long's schools were given religious instruction, in the first place, by means of pictures. When, in this way, they had acquired some knowledge of the leading facts of Scripture they were introduced to the parables of Christ and taught through emblems, proverbs and similes which conveyed abstract ideas through familiar and concrete images.[78] As already mentioned, Long developed this latter method of communicating Christian ideas in his preaching in the 1850's and, in 1871, he published Scripture Truth in Oriental Dress, a manual which he hoped would help Christian teachers and preachers to communicate their ideas to simple peasant people in this way. "Emblems,

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77. M.A. Sherring The History of Protestant Missions in India (1875 ed.) p.127; C.M.S. CI1/0185/104 Long to Secs., 22 March 1872; J. Long Bible Teaching and Preaching for the Millions by Emblems and Proverbs, n.p., n.d., pp.6-7; C.V.E.S. for India; Thirteenth Annual Report, 1871, pp.32-35.
78. J.Long Bible Teaching and Preaching for the Millions, p.6; J. Long How I Taught the Bible to Bengali Peasant Boys, n.p., n.d.

parables, pictures, proverbs are even in Europe regarded as of great value in instructing the masses," he wrote, "how much more ought they to be used in Eastern lands, where it is so important when announcing new dogma to fix them in the mind by illustrations which excite interest and arrest attention."[79] But what most impressed visitors to Long's schools in about 1870-1871 was his use and development of oral methods of religious instruction. He found that the children had little time in school to gain an acquaintance with the history and leading facts of Scripture from the Bible itself, and so this information was given "in the form of a narrative without book, which is more accordant with the oriental mode, and decidedly more impressive."[80] And though, in his opinion, this practice was "not the best for cramming," or turning his students out well at examination, it was "the most effective way of getting at the heart and interesting the mind through the imagination."[81]

According to the Rev. Sherring this oral method of

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79. J. Long Scripture Truth in Oriental Dress, Calcutta 1871 (Preface).
80. Bible Teaching and Preaching for the Millions, p.6.
81. C.V.E.S. for India, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1871.

instruction was used in Long's schools "with signal success,"[82] and Bishop Milman, who examined Long's pupils in January 1872, also felt it had been successful. In his opinion, it had many advantages, especially in India and "diminishes the area of study, but increases the knowledge of that area," and "certainly tends to strengthen the mind, to fix attention, and to give interest in the particular study."[83] The Rev.J.Welland, who examined Long's schools on behalf of the C.V.E.S., was also impressed. "We were also pleased with the marked results of the oral teaching of the Scriptures which these boys have received," he wrote. "When unable to quote a passage accurately, they often gave fairly the sense of it; there was fresh interest in observing the particular form in which boys had succeeded in making a given fact or statement their own. They seemed also to take more notice of each other's answers, and to have in general a quicker attention."[84]

Long himself was particularly interested in

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82. M.A. Sherring The History of Protestant Missions in India (1875 ed.) p.127.
83. Milman to Long, 5 January 1872, quoted in J. Long Bible Teaching and Preaching for the Millions, pp.6-7.
84. Welland to Long, 2 January 1872, in J. Long Bible Teaching, p.7.

attempts which were being made at about this time by two Bengali Christians to teach Christianity in the same way as Hinduism was sometimes taught to village people — through Kathaks, or professional reciters, whose semi-dramatic recitations could hold the attention of audiences for several hours.[85] Long sent one of his own teachers away to learn this technique and drew attention to the subject at a conference of C.M.S. missionaries in March 1870.[86] An animated discussion followed on how far the practice of reciting scriptural narratives in this way should be encouraged. The general opinion of the missionaries was that such recitals "might possibly be a means of drawing popular attention to the facts of the Gospel and thus diffusing Christian knowledge," but they argued that there was "an obvious danger lest the sacred facts and histories of revealed truth, by being presented in this way, should come to be regarded by the heathen as nothing more than amusing tales such as those which their own pundits recite, and

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85. C.M.S. CI1/0185/124 Long's Journal, 16 December 1867; C.V.E.S. for India, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1871, p.34.
86. C.M.S. CI1/04/4/37 Bengal District Conference Report, 8-10 March 1870.

which appeal merely to fancy and sentiment." And while, according to the report, some of the missionaries "felt this and other objections strongly"others thought that "until the experiment should be fairly tried it would be premature either to endorse or to condemn it."

In the 1850's Long's schools showed quite clearly that a sound elementary education could be given entirely through the vernacular and, by the 1860's, there was probably a much wider recognition by Europeans, as well as by Bengalis, of the value of this type of education. Hence Long seems to have felt that his emphasis during this period should be more on expansion rather than on attempts to justify the vernacular school system.[87] And although the best of his schools in the 1860's may not have been as impressive as the boarding schools in the late 1850's, he succeeded in showing that expansion in vernacular education could be achieved — through the circle school system — without involving any serious decline in overall standards. The number of schools under his superintendence was considerably increased and yet, by the late 1860's, Government officials, bishops and missionaries were again commenting on their efficiency

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87. C.M.S. CI1/0185/119 Long's Journal, 26 December 1865.

or quality. And finally, while some Europeans seem to have believed that the quality of Indian education could be improved only by Westernization, Long's experiments suggested that, at least as far as teaching methods were concerned, traditional Indian methods were sometimes the most effective.

During this period Long probably continued to have some influence on the educational thinking of Government officials. But the formative period of Government policy in vernacular education was very largely over and vernacular education developed in Bengal in the 1860's largely along the lines mapped out in the 1850's. Hence there were not the same opportunities for influencing Government policy as there had been in the earlier period. Yet, at the same time, Long's position within Government circles was more firmly established as a result of the Nil Darpan episode. Judging from his journals, he spent more time with Government officials than ever before and his increased experience and status in the Indian community must have made him an even more valuable adviser. He mixed with Government officials socially, continued to work with them on Government and unofficial committees and seems sometimes to have acted as an intermediary between Government and the Calcutta Missionary Conference —

a task perhaps all the more necessary since Duff had left India in 1863. In December 1867, for example, Long presented the Conference with a statement of the education cess question and explained the difficulties the Government (presumably the Government of India) was facing in connection with it[88] and, in December 1868, he was directed by the Conference to draw up the draft of the missionary address subsequently presented to Sir John Lawrence on his retirement from India early in 1869.[89]

Long discussed educational and other questions with Sir Cecil Beadon and Sir William Grey, Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal for much of this period, with A. Howell, Under Secretary to the Government of India, and with Sir Richard Temple and others.[90] But the man

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88. C.M.S. CI1/0185/124 Journal, 7 December 1867.
89. C.M.S. CI1/0185/125 Journal, 8 December 1868; 17 December 1868.
90. C.M.S. CI1/0185/91 Long to Venn, 22 December 1865; CI1/0185/120 Journal, 22 March 1866; CI1/0185/121 Journal, 9 May 1866; CI1/0185/123 Journal, 24 January 1867; CI1/0185/96 Long to Venn, 8 January 1867; CI1/0185/25 Journal, 11 November 1868; CI1/0185/124 Journal, 18 November 1867; CI1/0185/125 Journal, 2 December 1868; CI1/0185/123 Journal, 22 February 1867; CI1/0185/124 Journal, 11, 15 December 1867; CI1/0185/92 Long to Venn, 22 January 1866.

Long most admired and who seems to have confided in him to the greatest extent was Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy of India from 1864 until 1869. Like Long he was an Evangelical and was deeply concerned with the welfare of the common people. Long himself constantly spoke of Lawrence as "a man of the people" and contrasted his attitude towards the masses with that of Bengal officials, and especially with that of Beadon, whom he held responsible for the death of over a million people during the Orissa famine of 1866.[91] Something of Long's attitude to Lawrence and of the relationship between them is perhaps reflected in a letter Long wrote to Venn in January 1867. He remarked that Lawrence sent for him on the subject of the vernacular press. "He kept me for an hour with him talking over various Indian matters and making enquiries, I was delighted with the interest he took in the masses, though alas he receives little sympathy in this country in that point, the ryots

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91. "Mr. Beadon," he wrote in February 1867, "...now leaves this country with a deserved stigma on his name /while/ the cries of a million and a half who have perished are before heaven calling for vengeance on him and his party who have through negligence caused the bodies to perish and the souls to be left in ignorance." C.M.S. CI1/0185/123 Journal, 18 February 1867; CI1/0185/139 Annual Report 1867; CI1/0185/125 Journal, 23 November 1868; CI1/0185/99 Long to Venn, 9 March 1868; CI1/0185/103 Long to Venn, 2 February /1869/.

have few friends. Sir J. is the same humble minded man he ever was, and whatever people may write against him, he is in a very useful position, he prevents many evils, it is not in his power to do much himself he is so checked in England and here by his Council as well as by other influences. Sir John told me of several things he personally wished to do but he could not. A Governor General is not an autocrat, and least of all Sir J. Lawrence, for instance if he now thought the Bible ought to be introduced in Schools, it would be very difficult to carry the measure against the latent and open hostility that would be excited against it."[92]

In August 1867, when Long was recovering from an illness in Simla, he and the Governor-General discussed the question of vernacular education at some length. Lawrence was so impressed with Long's ideas that he asked him to lay down a practical plan for developing

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92. C.M .S. CI1/0185/96 Long to Venn, 8 January 1867.

vernacular education in Bengal.[93] Long outlined his ideas in an official letter in which he proposed, among other things, a modification of the grant-in-aid rules in favour of indigenous schools and the appointment of a special Director of Vernacular Education.[94]

His letter was forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir William Grey, for comments.[95] Grey in turn

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93. C.M.S. CI1/0185/98 Long to Venn, 24 September 1867; CI1/0185/139 Annual Report 1867; CI1/0185/100 Long to Venn, 20 April [1868].
Lawrence was in England when the Nil Darpan controversy broke out in Bengal and he stated his view of the case in a letter to the Duchess of Argyll in November 1861. "I think in the state of excitement in Bengal, it was a pity that Mr.Long took up the Book," he wrote. "It gives a very exaggerated, and I should say to a considerable extent unjust view of the Indigo question. But it was a much greater error in Seton Karr, in his position countenancing the publication. Long was an independent man and was only acting in his [vo]cation. He felt strongly that the people were ill treated in the cultivation of indigo and wished to rouse our Rulers to look into the matter. Seton Karr had not the same excuse while the obligation to prudence was very strong. I think however that the indictment in libel was unreasonable and the charge of the Judge most unjust and extravagant." [Lawrence to Duchess of Argyll, 1 November 1861, Personal Letters to and from the Duke of Argyll — Microfilm, India Office Library.]
94. Government of Bengal, Education Proceedings, December 1867, No. 16, Long to Lawrence, 28 October 1867.
95. Government of Bengal, Education Proceedings, December 1867, No. 15.

sent copies with other papers on the financial aspects of vernacular education to the District Commissioners;[96] but there the matter seems to have ended. In February 1868, the Government of India again drew attention to Long's letter and the Government of Bengal replied that the matter was "under the Lieutenant-Governor's consideration."[97] However, the basic question of finance for vernacular education — the cess question — overshadowed everything else and there does not appear to have been any further correspondence on the subject. The only positive result of Long's letter it seems was that his offer to edit Adam's reports on education was accepted. He was assisted financially by the Government of India and his edition of the reports was published in 1868.[98]

Long's interest in direct evangelism was strictly limited during this period and much of this work he kept at an informal level and carried out through personal interview and private conversation — an approach which he always seems to have found suited his personality and which was made easier as a result of his increased

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96. ibid., No.6.
97. ibid., Nos.5, 6.
98. ibid., Nos.53,55.

popularity in the Indian community. He toured various parts of Bengal and the North West Provinces stimulating an interest in social science, making investigations into the vernacular press and/or developing a system of colportage.[99] Owing to ill health, he avoided continuous travelling and stayed, sometimes as long as a week or ten days, as a guest in the home of some influential Hindu or Muslim and, in this way, was able to discuss Christianity and other subjects in a friendly informal atmosphere.[100]

While on tours such as these he was also able to develop his own enterprising method of distributing portions of Scripture. The Calcutta Bible Society, like other literary organizations, had long been concerned with the problem of distributing its publications and, in 1866, Long suggested a plan of presenting various vernacular authors, editors and translators with a copy of the Society's Bengali New Testament.[101] "I hope to be able in the greater part of the cases to present the book myself," he wrote, "and to have some conversation on

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99. C.M.S. CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866; CI1/0185/95 Long to Venn, 10 November 1866.
100. C.M.S. CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866; CI1/0185/94 Long to Venn, 1 September 1866.
101. C.M.S. CI1/0185/121 Long's Journal, 20 June 1866; CI1/0185/95 Long to Venn, 10 November 1866; CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866.

Christianity with the Author."[102] He estimated that there were about 500 Bengalis engaged in this type of activity and, in his opinion, they formed "a rising and important class" and "the connecting link between the educated few and the ignorant many."[103] The Calcutta Auxiliary at once agreed to Long's proposal and the Committee in London was so impressed with the idea that they recommended the adoption of a similar scheme by branches in other parts of India.[104]

Long was ideally suited for the work, not only because, as the hero of the Nil Darpan affair, he was likely to be well received wherever he went, but also because he was already well acquainted with numerous vernacular authors and knew a great deal about the vernacular press. He began work in about August 1866 and, in spite of interruptions caused by his wife's and his own illness and the pressure of other activities, had nearly completed it by the end of 1871[105] — when, as he explained in his annual letter, he was engaged in distributing Bengali Bibles to vernacular authors in

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102. C.M.S. CI1/0185/121 Journal, 20 June 1866.
103. ibid.; CI1/0185/93 Long to Calcutta Corresponding Committee, 30 April 1866.
104. C.M.S. CI1/0185/121 Journal, 20 June 1866; CI1/0185/138 Annual Report 1866; British and Foreign Bible Society, Sixty Third Report, 1867, p.181. British and Foreign Bible Society: Minutes of Committee, 12 November 1866, 19 August 1867.
105. C.M.S. CI1/0185/142 Annual Letter, January 1871.

Dacca and in other parts of East Bengal.

During his last period in India Long must have been one of the most unconventional protestant missionaries in Bengal. There were probably few, if any, others who engaged to such a limited extent in the ordinary missionary activities of teaching and preaching and who, at the same time, became quite so involved in activities which many supporters at home must have regarded as purely "secular".[106] Something of the attitude of at least some of those connected with the C.M.S. towards the kind of work Long was undertaking is reflected in occasional comments in C.M.S. publications. The writer of a report appearing in the Church Missionary Record, for example, describing the part Long played in organizing Bishop Cotton's soirée, declared that this was "not directly of any religious significance"[107] and the author of an article in the Church Missionary Intelligencer, when expanding on the origin of the Bengal Social Science Association, deleted all reference to Long's influence on its organization and carefully distinguished the various aspects of social science from "the nobler science of Christian evangelization."[108]

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106. C.M.R., 1866-1872 (Annual Reports of Bengal C.M.S. missionaries).
107. C.M.R., vol.XII, new series, December 1867, p.379.
108. Church Missionary Intelligencer, September 1868, pp.263-269.

But, in view of the highly unorthodox nature of Long's work, it is surprising that there was not a great deal more adverse criticism of his activity than there appears to have been. Other missionaries and missionary supporters in Bengal seem to have been generally silent and, if they disapproved of Long's activities, then they do not appear to have voiced their criticisms as openly as they did in the 1850's and in 1860. No doubt as a result of his increased experience, the Nil Darpan episode and his influence in the Indian community, he was more widely respected by missionary colleagues. Moreover, many missionary supporters must have realized that he occupied a very special position and that this required a special kind of approach — individualistic and unorthodox methods. But what was perhaps of even greater importance was the fact that Long's basic aims were better understood. When, for example, he submitted his plan of activities to the Calcutta Corresponding Committee in April 1866, they not only refused to comment on the fact that this involved very little direct evangelism, but, on the contrary, assured him of "the sympathy and approval" with which the Committee regarded the objectives he had in mind, [109] and when, in March 1871,

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109. C.M.S. CI1/O1/521 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 9 May 1866.

the Committee, including Bishop Milman and the Rev.Stuart, learned that he would for health reasons, be compelled to leave India in 1872, they drew up a resolution expressing their appreciation of his work, noting, in particular, that "by calling attention to the social condition and educational necessities of the people" he was "doing much indirectly to promote the great cause of India's emancipation into the light and liberty of the Gospel."[110] Moreover, judging from the comments of Joseph Fenn, one of the C.M.S. Secretaries of Salisbury Square, the C.M.S. Parent Committee also understood his aims and appreciated the importance of his activities. In a letter to Long, in May 1868, Fenn referred to some of Long's letters and to his Annual Report of 1867 and remarked that "it is impossible to read these without being convinced that you are engaged in a work likely to be productive of great results...that which you are aiming at, must be acknowledged by all to be of the utmost importance... Now let me entreat you to be assured that you have every sympathy at this office."[111]

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110. C.M.S. CI1/01/567 Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Proceedings, 8 March 1871.
111. C.M.S. CI1/L7 Fenn to Long, 25 May 1868.

It is perhaps appropriate at this point, at the conclusion of Long's Indian career, to consider in retrospect some aspects of his own and Protestant missionary attitudes towards non-Christian religions during the period 1840 to 1872.

It may well be true that Long came from a background and mixed with Protestant missionaries generally less sympathetic to non-Christian religions than those more influenced by the Catholic tradition. This point might be considered in subsequent research, but is at least suggested by the comments of a correspondent in the Hindoo Patriot of June 1860. The term "low Church" which he used had by this time become practically synonymous with "Evangelical". "The English Christian community," he wrote, "is divided into high Church and low Church. The latter, the low Church, damn the natives of India, and teach that they are destined to a future punishment by fire which never comes to an end. Can any idea be more evil? The high Church," he continued, "are fond of flowers, candles, light, music, processions, bells, feasts and so forth. They are not bad fellows in their way, and do not go out of their way to abuse the Hindoos and Mahometans."[112]

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112. Hindoo Patriot, 23 June 1860.

The Evangelicals were strongly influenced by Calvinism and by the doctrine of man's total depravity. They believed that the whole world lay in darkness — even that part of it which was professedly Christian. Perhaps associated with this view was their deep distrust of "worldly" pleasures, such as dancing and Sunday sport, which unlike the Tractarians (who were more influenced by the Catholic tradition) they strongly condemned.[113] In the opinion of Dr. Elliott-Binns, they developed "an over censorious spirit" and this probably made them more critical of Hinduism and Islam than they might otherwise have been.

Secondly, they were fiercely anti-Catholic and probably reacted all the more strongly against Hinduism because they thought they saw in it many of the things they found so abhorrent in the Catholic tradition. They argued that there were important resemblances between Hinduism and Catholicism[114] and almost certainly objected

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113. Murray (ed.) Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford 1933; L.E. Elliott-Binns The Early Evangelicals: A Religious and Social Study, London 1953, pp.386-387, 396, 433-444; E. Halévy History of the English People, vol.4(1961 ed.), pp.354-355.

114. C.M.R., vol.XII, 1841, p.105; J. Hough A Reply to the Letters of the Abbé Dubois on the State of Christianity in India, London 1824, pp.82-83; C.C.O., vol.XX, May 1851, p.233.

more strongly than the Tractarians to the idea of a priesthood, ritualism and the use of images in worship — characteristics of both religions.

There can be little doubt that some Evangelical missionaries remained extremely unsympathetic in their attitude towards Hinduism and Islam throughout the period 1840 to 1872.[115] Long, however, gradually came to share the views of a growing number of other Evangelical missionaries more tolerant in outlook, and, by the 1850's, he too was fully convinced that both these non-Christian religions possessed some substance of truth. In 1852, for example, he argued that Islam was a particularly subtle foe because its "gross errors" were mingled with "so much truth". He praised Muhammad's understanding of "the essential difference between matter and spirit" and the Muslim assertion that "God is not a body endued with forms, nor a substance circumscribed with limits or determined by measure, neither does he resemble bodies, as they are capable of being measured or divided."[116] He also pointed out that Muhammad "allowed the inspiration of Moses and of the Prophetic writings and the Divine Mission of Christ."[117] He asserted that "it is now generally admitted

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115. K.A.Ballhatchet "Some Aspects of Historical Writing on India by Protestant Christian Missionaries During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon,(ed.) C.H.Philips, London 1961, p.349 (footnote 33).
116. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, 1852, pp.97-98.
117. ibid., p.98.

that Muhammad was eloquent, affable, self-denying and charitable", criticised Christians who refused to mention anything favourable in the Prophet's character, and stressed that, as a matter of tactic in controversy, it was important to give a view of the life of Muhammad which would give him "credit for what amiabilities he had" as well as point out the "great defects" of his character.[118] In 1860 he was in fact criticised by the Bengal Hurkaru newspaper for stating in his address to the Family Literary Club that Muhammad was "one of the mightiest minds of past ages."[119]

Referring to Hinduism, he stated that it "recognizes the dogmas of an incarnation, a trinity, sacraments, festivals etc."[120] and he praised Bishop Heber's sympathetic attitude. "Few men," he wrote in 1848, "felt a livelier sympathy in the condition of the Hindus: he was far from adopting a notion then prevalent, that the whole of the Hindus were a kind of moral monsters."[121] On the other hand, he frequently criticised Ward's view of the Hindus and argued that "Many of Mr. Ward's remarks respecting the

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118. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, September 1851, p.341.
119. Bengal Hurkaru, 10 July 1860.
120. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, 1853, p.98.
121. J. Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.40.

cruelties and immoralities among the Hindus are no more applicable to the body of the people than a description of Billingsgate and the Old Bailey, in London, would be to the inhabitants of the west end of the town."[122] And he quoted F.D. Maurice, one of the more sympathetic critics of Hinduism, as saying that "Mr. Ward can see only the hateful and the devilish; of what good it may be the counterfeit, what divine truth may be concealed in it, and may be needed to supplant it, he has not courage to enquire."[123] Like Bishop Heber, Long frequently referred to the intelligence of the Hindus and quoted in his Handbook several passages "On Native Character", praising their generosity, hospitality, attachment to relatives and public spirit.[124] Writing in 1849, he stated that he had always observed "the most perfect propriety" in the Hindus "when in the Society of Europeans" and added "the more I see of the Hindus, the more I like them. They have been much misrepresented by Europeans who did not know their language — and who absurdly took the European as the sole standard of civilisation."[125]

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122. ibid.; C.M.S. CI1/0185/116 Journal, 5 June 1849; Family Literary Club Third Anniversary Report etc., Calcutta 1860, p.14.
123. Handbook, p.494.
124. ibid., pp.494-497.
125. C.M.S. CI1/0185/116 Journal, 5 June 1849.

Long's attitude towards both Hinduism and Islam was probably more sympathetic than that reflected in the Church Missionary Intelligencer, published by the C.M.S. in England [126] — though it is quite possible that missionary periodicals such as these deliberately played up the darker side of non-Christian religions in order to stimulate missionary activity and sympathy for the spiritual condition of non-Christian people.[127] But certainly by the time Long left India in 1872, he had acquired a breadth of outlook and sympathy which his friend, T.V. French, the first Bishop of Lahore, seems to have found somewhat disconcerting. In a letter written in about August 1871 French noted that Long was going to hold "a conclave of Cashmere pundits" about a week later and that another such "durbar of pundits" awaited him at Lahore "where the great (but anti-Christian) Dr. L. is to entertain and fête him," and then he added

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126. Church Missionary Intelligencer, vol.1, No.4, August 1849, pp.75-76; vol.III, No.5, May 1852, pp.99-103.

127. Stock mentions the case of Basil Woodd who, travelling extensively in England in 1813, raising funds and founding local branches of the C.M.S., took with him "two Hindoo gods" which he found "entertain everybody, and plead the cause of Missions as well as if they were missionaries themselves." [vol.1, p.132].

that Long's "liberality of sentiment, with which I cannot at all concur, embraces everybody in a bond of amity and comity which seems of wondrous elasticity."[128]

Like some of his colleagues, Long may well have developed a more tolerant attitude towards Hinduism partly because of his increased knowledge and understanding of it. He stressed the importance of studying non-Christian religions and his extensive knowledge of vernacular literature and Sanskrit, his rich experience and travel and his reputation among Indians as a result of the Nil Darpan episode gave him many opportunities for studying Hinduism and Islam in their various aspects. In fact, it is noticeable that the Europeans he tended to criticise were those who generalized too much from their limited experience and who, like Ward and Dr. Duff[129] judged Hinduism by what they knew of it in Bengal.

But what may also have been of some importance in Long's case in particular, is the fact that his belief in the superiority of Christianity was not reinforced by a sense of racial and cultural superiority. Hinduism and Indian civilization were closely connected and Europeans

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128. Quoted in H.Birks The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, vol.I, p.287.
129. T. Smith Men Worth Remembering: Alexander Duff D.D. p.72.

who condemned one were probably also inclined to condemn the other. Long, however, did not think Hindus were any the worse for not being Europeans and for not having a Western culture and this probably affected his attitude towards Hinduism itself.

While Long attempted to counter what he regarded as an unjustifiably harsh and gloomy picture of orthodox Hinduism and Islam on the one hand, he also attempted to modify what he felt was an over rosy and optimistic picture of Brahmoism on the other. He may have agreed with one writer in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer that Brahmoism was "undoubtedly a step in the progress of truth,"[130] but whereas the writer emphasized its similarities with Christianity, Long emphasized its differences. He noted in 1845 that though the Brahmos had laid aside "the grossness of Hinduism" they did this "without admitting the Divine origin of Christianity."[131] He described them as Deists, but reminded his readers that "Christ crucified is with them the grand stumbling block"[132] and that they were just as much opposed to the "spirituality of Christianity" as to the "grossness of

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130. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, August 1847, pp.125-130.
131. C.M.R., vol.XVII, April 1846. p.84.
132. C.M.S. CI1/0185/115 Journal, 24 May 1846.

Hinduism."[133]

Long's attitude towards Brahmoism was perhaps partly conditioned by the fact that, when he first encountered the movement in the 1840's under Devendranath Tagore, it was markedly anti-Christian. Long found in his own experience that the Brahmos were at this time amongst the most outspoken critics of missionary activity. His own school at Mirzapur suffered from their opposition and he had frequently to meet objections to Christianity they raised in the course of conversation.[134] In his letters to the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. in the 1840's Long often warned of the dangers of Brahmoism or Vedantism as it was sometimes called. It was, Long wrote on one occasion, "our great antagonist now in Calcutta"[135] and at a C.M.S. prayer meeting held in July 1849, he drew attention to its increasing influence and referred to the fact that one of his students from the

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133. C.M.S. CI1/O185/115 Journal, 24 May 1846.
134. C.M.S. CI1/O185/13 Long to Parent Committee, 1 October 1845; CI1/O185/128 Annual Report 1846; CI1/O185/17 Long to Venn, 7 November 1846; C.M.R., vol.XXI, July 1850, p.147; C.M.R., vol.XVII, April 1846, p.84; CI1/O185/115 Journal, 28 May 1846.
135. C.M.S. CI1/O185/128 Annual Report 1846. See also CI1/O185/116 Journal, 1 May 1849.

English school, "once favourably inclined to Christianity", was "flatteringly urged to join the Vedantist body" and he pointed out that, in this way, "we lose some promising young men."[136]

In the 1850's, as President of a literary society connected with the Presidency College, Long became well acquainted with Keshabchandra Sen, an earnest and talented young man who was then acting as Secretary.[137] In August 1861, it was very probably Keshabchandra who wrote the words in the Indian Mirror[138] denouncing the planters and Long's prosecutors in no uncertain terms. "The imprisonment of Mr. Long," he wrote, "has not afflicted us more than the motive that has been imputed to his act; it is really very painful to think that a pious clergyman, like Mr. Long, was actuated by any malicious intention whatsoever in the publication of the Nil Darpan. A Missionary who was exerting his head and heart for the welfare of the Native community has been denounced by the Supreme Court as a malicious slanderer... the Rev. Mr. Long," he added, "has acted manfully and precisely in the manner a true Christian Missionary should

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136. Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, September 1849, pp.456-457.
137. C.M.S. CI1/0185/119 Journal, 17 January 1866.
138. J. Natarajan History of Indian Journalism, p.71.

have done when placed under the same circumstances..."[139]

After Long's return from England in 1865, the two men seem to have continued on very friendly terms. On 5 March 1866, for example, only two months before Keshabchandra gave his famous lecture on Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia, they spent an evening together and discussed two points which Keshabchandra later considered in the course of that address — the particular suitability of Christianity for the Oriental, "as its documents were Oriental in language & style and its founders were all Orientals," and the absurdity of Christian converts aping the English in dress and manners and alienating themselves from their fellow-countrymen.[140]

But Long does not seem to have been carried away with enthusiasm as a result of Keshabchandra's address and public comments on Christianity to the same extent as some other Christians.[141] Even the Rev. James Vaughan, a C.M.S. missionary who saw much of the Brahmos in Calcutta during this period, seemed to be unable to make up his mind about their position in relation to

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139. Indian Mirror, 1 August 1861.
140. Keshab Chunder Sen Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia, London 1866, p.25; C.M.S. CI1/0185/120 Journal, 5 March 1866.
141. C.C.O., vol.XXXV, October 1866, pp.457-459; C.M.S. CI1/0299/42 Vaughan's Annual Letter, 23 December 1867.

Christianity and wavered in uncertainty half way between optimism and despair.[142] And while he and others went so far as to suggest that Keshabchandra was "not far from the kingdom of heaven", Long simply remarked that he had seen much of the educated classes in Calcutta that year (1866) and that he did not see much prospect of their embracing Christianity, "not even in my friend Kesab Sen though like Rousseau he admires the character of Christ."[143]

By 1870 Keshabchandra seemed to have moved further away from Christianity and, partly as a result of this, missionary attitudes towards him and his party were hardening. Even before this, in 1869, supporters of the C.M.S. in Calcutta remarked, for example, that "Time has shown that per se, it [Brahmoism] has no real affinity with the Gospel, and that its direct influence is certainly not to prepare men to receive the Gospel. There is too much reason to fear that many of the most

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142. "For my part," he wrote, "I don't look for much actual fruit from this movement," but he added mysteriously a little later, "there has never been for a moment a doubt in my own mind that the Lord will, in the long run, make this whole movement to his glory & the extension of his kingdom." [C.M.S. CI1/0299/41 Annual Letter 1866].

143. C.M.S. CI1/0185/138 Long's Annual Report 1866.

advanced members of the Samaj are further from the truth now than they were years ago."[144] Many of the Bengal missionaries were, in fact, disturbed by the warmth of the reception given to Keshabchandra during his visit to England in 1870.[145] These misgivings, which Long himself fully shared, were voiced in the Rev. Vaughan's letter to the C.M.S. in April 1870.[146] "We are very much concerned at the tidings wh. are reaching us of the reception given to Kesut Chunder Sen", he wrote. "Our worst fears are likely to be verified. It always struck me that his visit to England was likely to do more harm to us than good to him. He was sure to be lionised & flattered by the good people at home & this circumstance was sure to be misinterpreted by his followers here. So it is coming to pass." Then referring to the great enthusiasm of his reception, Vaughan argued that "the effect of all this out here is pernicious in the extreme. Educated natives have for years back been telling us that Christianity is dying out

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144. Church Missionary Intelligencer, August 1869, pp.240-241.
145. C.M.S. CI1/0185/142 Long's Annual Letter, January 1871; CI1/0299/110 Vaughan to Venn, 25 April 1870.
146. C.M.S. CI1/0299/10 Vaughan to Venn, 25 April 1870.

in Europe; the Brahmos in particular have boasted ~~about~~ that the Christianity which we bring them is all but defunct at home, & that Brahmoism under other names is really the religion of the thoughtful & good at home, "Why" say they, "should you urge upon us a religion which your own countrymen are discarding." Now it wanted nothing more than the cordial reception wh. Kesub is receiving to confirm this impression. Kesub & his party are willing enough to interpret all the kind & incautious sympathy which they are receiving as an expression of positive approval of his views." Long's own feelings were very similar indeed. "In common with others", he wrote, "I have been pained to see the reception given in England to Kesub C.Sen by religious men not on mere religious questions. It has given the impression that Brahmoism does well for them, and that the offence of the cross has ceased. I have met with many Brahmos last year and they seem, though elevated socially much above their countrymen and of a higher moral tone, yet to be as far from the Kingdom of Heaven as idolaters."[147]

The missionaries may have been pleased to find similarities between their own and non-Christian religions. This at least showed that even the "heathen" could have some perception of "Divine Truth". But from

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147. C.M.S. CI1/0185/142 Annual Letter, January 1871.

the missionaries' point of view, in the end, these similarities hardly mattered if these religions still rejected the kind of truths they believed essential for salvation. They saw little difference, in the last analysis, between Brahmoism, Hinduism and Islam, as all rejected Christ as the only Saviour; and even though a man like Keshabchandra Sen might "talk and preach like an angel of light" and admire the character of Christ, all this, in their opinion, was of no avail, as he still failed to recognize what they regarded as truths fundamental to the Christian faith.[148]

148. C.C.O., vol.XXXV, October 1866, p.462; C.M.S. CI1/0299/110 Vaughan to Venn, 25 April 1870; Church Missionary Intelligencer, August 1869, p.242.

Conclusion

The number of converts to Christianity in Bengal in the nineteenth century was comparatively small when compared with the number in South India and in some other countries, and hence it is not surprising that, throughout the period 1840-1872, Protestant missionaries in Bengal were concerned, not only with evangelism itself, but with the sort of obstacles which they believed made evangelism difficult and impeded the progress of Christianity. As in Long's case, it was probably a certain sense of failure which forced them to re-examine the social situation and pay closer attention to factors such as the caste system, the ignorance and poverty of the people and the oppressive behaviour of Europeans, which they felt conditioned the Bengali response to Christianity.[1]

There seems to have been a widespread feeling that the spread of Christianity was in fact dependent upon certain economic, social and cultural pre-conditions and that unless basic environmental factors were changed in Bengal, missionary work would meet with little success. Hence the missionaries became involved in semi-political

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(1) See in particular, questions proposed for discussion at the Calcutta Missionary Conference in 1835 and 1842 /C.C.O., vol.XXXIII, April 1865, pp.180, 184./

economic and social discussion and to some extent, in secular activities in an effort to create a new kind of society in which conditions would be more favourable to the spread of Christianity. They were forced to become revolutionaries and reformers, not only because of their sense of social justice, but also because they felt that without change and social transformation the seed of the word of God would be choked among thorns or fall upon rocky ground.

The missionaries' preoccupation with the underlying social factors which seemed to retard their work is clearly apparent from the record of missionary meetings,[2] and their determination to overcome difficult conditions — to create a new environment for the preaching of Christianity — is reflected in their educational activity and social policy. They continued to play an important part in education during the period 1840-1872 not only because they regarded education as a method of evangelism, but also because they believed it was an effective method of preparing the way for the Christian preacher — a method of undermining faith in Hinduism and weakening caste, of demolishing "superstition and prejudice" and of

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2. C.C.O.,vol.XXIV, October-December 1855, pp.451-465, 492-530, 551-558; vol.XXXI, March 1862, pp.97-111; vol.XXXIII, April 1865, pp.180-181, 184.

facilitating "the comprehension and appreciation of the gospel."[3] Similarly, the missionaries' enthusiasm for social reform was conditioned not merely by their concern for social justice, but by the same desire to create conditions more favourable to the spread of Christianity. They took part in agitation and opposed the zamindari and indigo planting systems mainly because they believed these systems were serious obstacles to their work in rural areas.[4]

In a recent thesis, Some Aspects of the Development of Social Policy in Ceylon, 1840-55, Dr. de Silva wonders why Protestant missionaries in Ceylon, unlike their colleagues in India, showed little interest in social questions. He argues that, in spite of their knowledge of existing slavery and of the Indian migrant problem, they remained strangely silent. This silence is indeed difficult to understand, especially if it is assumed that the missionaries were passionately concerned with humanitarian issues and with social justice. But they

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3. See especially, pp. 70-71.
4. For missionary attitudes towards the zamindari system see in particular, C.C.O., vol.XXIV, November 1855, pp. 516-530; E.Storrow India and Christian Missions, pp. 38-40; Calcutta B.M.S. Annual Report, 1855, p.32; C.M.S. CI1/0180/30 Lincke's Account of a Preaching Excursion, February 1852; CI1/0185/154 Peasant Degradation, 8 April 1856; CI1/0185/136 Long's Annual Report 1858.

may not have been as concerned with these questions as is sometimes thought, and their indifference to social problems, which contrasts so markedly with the attitude of Bengal missionaries in the 1850's, may have been partly conditioned by the fact that social problems in Ceylon did not seem to interfere with evangelism, or with the missionaries' pastoral duties to the same extent as did the zamindari system and indigo planting in Bengal.[5]

Moreover, the different reaction of missionaries to social problems in different countries, such as Ceylon and Bengal, was possibly also conditioned by differences in Government policy. In Ceylon where the missionaries could at least feel that the Government, even in the 1840's, was aware of the migrant problem and was attempting to do something about it, there was probably less point in agitation than there was in Bengal, where Halliday seemed to be almost unaware of the feeling in indigo districts and where the Government was loath to take action on the indigo question until the situation was almost out of control. When various Government officials and private individuals in Bengal refused the missionaries'

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5. He states, for example, that up until 1854, there were only two missionaries in Ceylon working among Indian migrants; whereas, in Bengal, a very much greater number of missionaries were working in indigo areas.

request to draw public attention to the indigo question and speak up on the ryots' behalf, the missionaries began to feel that they themselves would have to organize agitation.

An examination of Protestant missionary policy in Bengal from 1840 to 1872 confirms the idea that the missionaries' ultimate aim was conversion. This is not only suggested by descriptions of missionary preaching,[6] but also by articles and reports of discussions on education.[7] And, as already mentioned, the missionaries' desire for social reform sprang not only from their concern for social justice, but also from the feeling that social conditions, such as those induced by the indigo system, made conversions extremely difficult.

But the missionaries also had at least three immediate objectives which seem to have been strictly related to this ultimate aim.

1. They continued to prepare both men and materials for future evangelistic activity. Like Carey and others before them they realized that the study of environment was important if they were to plan their strategy and adopt effective measures; they continued ~~the~~

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6. See in particular, Free Church of Scotland, Weekly Record, No. XVI, 18 January 1862, pp.121-122.
7. See pp.49, 70.

the work of translating the Bible and of preparing other literature which could be used in evangelism and they continued to develop schemes for the training of Indian preachers and teachers who would be able to assist them in the task of evangelism.

2. They deliberately attempted to prepare an environment more suitable for the spread of Christianity and, as has already been suggested, this was partly why they took part in educational activities and in the work of social reform.

3. They themselves took part in evangelism and preached Christianity in an attempt to make converts in their own time and generation.

But missionary policy was also affected from time to time by other considerations. One was a desire for social justice which seems to some extent to have affected the missionary attitude towards the indigo question, but was probably not connected with the missionaries' ultimate aim of making converts, and secondly, there was some concern with social morality. In Long's case, this expressed itself in a concern with the problem of prostitution and drinking and in his attempt to procure a Government ban on the publication and sale of obscene vernacular literature. In their discussions of education, missionaries occasionally claimed that their schools were

valuable partly because they elevated "the moral tone"[8] of their pupils, and their concern, particularly with the problem of alcoholism[9] continued throughout the period under review. Comments on this question in the Calcutta Christian Observer suggest that the missionary interest in social morality was sometimes stimulated by the feeling that the moral condition of the people presented yet another obstacle slowing down the progress of Christianity. Deploring the spread of drunkenness among Bengalis in 1848, one writer argued, for example, that "it shuts ears against the Gospel, hardens hearts already callous, and puts a stumbling-block in the way of saving truth."[10] And yet it is still possible that the missionary attempt to improve moral standards on some other occasions was quite unconnected with their primary aim of making converts. However, this is a matter for further investigation.

Long placed an even greater stress on the need for preparing for future missionary activity than did most

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8. See p. 71.
9. C.C.O., vol.XXXIII, April 1865, pp.186, 189, 195. The missionaries' concern with what they regarded as the growing problem of alcoholism and Government policy on this question in the 1860's is reflected in a Memorial of the Calcutta Missionary Conference on the working of the Abkaree Department presented to the Bengal Government in 1866. /C.C.O., vol.XXXVII, May 1866, pp.193-195; September 1866, pp.285-390./
10. C.C.O., vol.XVII, December 1848, p.575.

of the Bengal missionaries. Even in the 1850's, when he was more involved in evangelism than in the 1860's, he spent less time in this work than most of his colleagues and his activities were chiefly connected with the preparation of literature, the training of converts and with attempts to create economic, social, educational and other conditions which he felt would be more conducive to the spread of Christianity.

It was in this work of preparation rather than in the actual task of preaching that Long made his greatest contribution to the missionary movement. He constantly drew the attention of other missionaries and mission officials to the importance of carefully studying conditions in the mission field and, partly for this reason, stressed the necessity of studying vernacular literature and of taking an interest in sociology. Throughout the whole of his career in Bengal, he was actively concerned with the problems of training Indian preachers and, in the 1850's, carried out his own distinctive experiments at Thakurpukur, which certainly proved more successful than the more elaborate C.M.S. training scheme in Krishnagar. He was anxious to develop more effective methods of communicating the Gospel and, partly through his own work in the vernacular, succeeded in creating, particularly among Europeans, a greater awareness of its flexibility

and value as a method of communicating Christian and Western ideas to the mass of the population. His highly original experiments with Bengali proverbs and figures of speech, in particular, impressed his missionary colleagues.

Long was acutely aware of the inter-relation between economic, social, educational and religious factors and hence became deeply involved in attempts to alter environmental conditions. He did much to stimulate an interest in social reform. His own activities and imprisonment, together with the activity of other Christian missionaries, helped to draw attention to the need for reforming the indigo system, and his work organizing social science societies and in sociology, later in the 1860's, helped to keep the subject of reform before Government officials and public alike. But perhaps Long's achievements were even greater in vernacular education. His schools at Thakurpukur impressed European visitors and showed quite clearly that a sound elementary education could be given entirely through the vernacular. Government officials sought Long's advice and were influenced by his educational ideas and C.M.S. officials in England, encouraged by what they knew of his work and by his correspondence, played what was probably the crucial role in events leading up to the formation of the Christian Vernacular Education Society in 1858 — a Society which did much to develop missionary

vernacular education in Bengal in the 1860's and after.

Long had a sensitive understanding of Bengali attitudes and feelings and probably achieved more than most other missionaries in breaking down prejudices against Christianity. He was criticised by his colleagues, as well as by other Europeans, for his activities in Bengali clubs and societies and yet it was precisely this kind of work which seems to have impressed some Bengali intellectuals and convinced them of "the sublimity and righteousness" of the Christian Religion."[11] Few missionaries were more keenly aware of the importance of example and of showing Christian love in practice and, by expressing a genuine sympathy for the oppressed and a concern for the well being of all classes of the population, by opposing injustice, racial prejudice and narrow caste and class feelings and, above all, by his apparent willingness to suffer ignominy and imprisonment on the ryots' behalf, he presented Christianity in a favourable light, and revealed in his own life, something of the love for all men (and especially for the poor) which he saw in Christ.

While Long was in so many ways an advocate of change and social transformation and believed, for example, that missionaries should aim at a "revolution in the ideas

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11. See p.240.

of the Hindus "before they could expect" a large accession to the ranks of Christianity",[12] he developed a tolerant attitude towards what might be best described as Indian culture. In this respect, he probably differed once again from many of the other Bengal missionaries — although this is by no means certain. His increasing enthusiasm for Oriental studies and an Oriental type of Christianity, as well as his reaction against English education, was stimulated partly by practical considerations. He argued, for example, that more attention should be paid to the vernacular partly because he felt that Oriental methods of communication were likely to be the most effective. He immersed himself in vernacular literature, in sociology and in the study of Oriental religions partly in an attempt to understand the Indian environment in order to apply the right type of missionary strategy, and possibly also in an attempt to identify himself more closely with Bengalis, so as to win their confidence and respect and exercise a greater influence over their thinking. And finally, his emphasis on the need for developing an Oriental type of church was conditioned partly by the belief that it was only this type of church which would take root and develop in India.

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12. C.M.S. CI1/0185/126 Long's Annual Report 1843.

Yet Long's Orientalism was not only something he deliberately adopted for practical reasons. He had always been interested in languages, for example, and he shared a scholarly enthusiasm for Oriental studies with an increasing number of other Europeans, such as those who took part in the proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society or who supported the Bengal Social Science Association. According to the Rev. Sherring of the L.M.S. he was a man who "delighted in antiquarian and historical researches" and who "read with avidity" all kinds of vernacular literature.[13] He was an Orientalist by inclination as well as by deliberate choice and he published work on travel, philology and poetry which cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be related to his missionary activity. Thus when, in 1860, Long drew the attention of educated Indians to Indian history, to the value of Sanskrit and to the wonders of Mughal architecture, he was expressing a genuine enthusiasm for these Oriental subjects.

Long's activities in Bengal not only draw attention to the extent to which he and other missionaries were deliberately attempting to prepare for evangelism by changing social and other conditions; they also force

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13. M.A.Sherring The History of Protestant Missions in India, p.127.

a closer examination of the relationship between missionaries and Government officials — a subtle factor which affected missionary activity and planning in matters such as education and which determined the extent to which missionaries were either willing or able to influence Government policy.

Some Government officials during this period were probably influenced in their attitude towards missionaries by their own personal religious convictions and if, like Sir John Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere and Henry Woodrow they were committed Christians and believed in the over-riding importance of Christian missions then they were likely to mix with missionaries, appreciate their difficulties and listen to their advice.

Yet Government officials, Christian and otherwise, were practical administrators primarily concerned with the business of government and their attitude towards missionary activity was probably more influenced by considerations of Government policy than by their personal religious convictions. The same officials sometimes welcomed the stand missionaries were taking on one particular issue but opposed their views on another. Halliday, for example, was strongly in favour of giving grants-in-aid to mission schools and enthusiastically

welcomed missionary co-operation in vernacular education and yet, when it came to the indigo question, his attitude seemed to the missionaries to be cold and unresponsive. Grant, on the other hand, was strongly opposed to giving grants-in-aid to mission schools (at least in 1854), but welcomed missionary co-operation when attempting to deal with the indigo question and publicly praised the conduct of missionaries throughout the crisis. Hence, it is almost misleading to describe these men as either pro or anti-missionary. They were neither, and their reaction to missionary activity probably depended less on any fixed principle or particular religious position, than on the way in which this activity affected, or seemed likely to affect, current Government policy on any particular issue.

While it appears that official attitudes depended to some extent on a number of different practical considerations which might change from time to time, the Government always remained responsible for the maintenance of law and order and, as has already been shown by other historians,[14] official attitudes also depended to a considerable degree on whether or not officials believed missionaries would

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14. See, for example, A.Mayhew Christianity and the Government of India, p.178.

cause disturbances and endanger imperial interests or the prosperity of the country. Hence, the Bengal Government was sensitive about Bengali reactions to missionary activity and it is not altogether surprising that, in 1854, shortly after fierce Bengali agitation against mission schools in Calcutta, one of the Government officials, J.W.Colvile, should oppose Halliday's scheme for giving grants-in-aid to mission schools mainly on the ground that "the formal connection of Government with such schools is - - - not unlikely to cause an outcry and should therefore be avoided."[15]

But generally speaking Government officials during the period 1840 to 1872 do not seem to have been as apprehensive about the effects of missionary activity as were their predecessors in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Moreover, evidence relating to the situation in Bengal, tends to confirm Mayhew's argument that the Mutiny did not, on the whole, make officials any more nervous and suspicious of missionary activity and seriously damage Government-missionary relations. In Bengal these were in fact particularly close and cordial during the indigo crisis only a few years after the Mutiny, and, in spite of the planters' allegations, Government officials, such

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15. See p.104.

as those on the Indigo Commission and the Lieutenant-Governor himself, were quite satisfied that the missionaries had not been involved in causing disturbances. Some officials even seem to have reached the conclusion that, far from weakening Britain's hold on India, the missionaries were consolidating the British position. The editor of the semi-official Indian Empire, for example, boldly declared in the first issue, which appeared in July 1861, that the paper would regard "the diffusion of Christianity by Missionary and all other means as not likely to place the Government in a false position, as one of the chief means of raising the character of the people and of giving stability to our empire."[16]

The reasons for the general improvement in Government-missionary relations in the earlier part of the nineteenth century in Bengal, and probably elsewhere in India as well, have not yet been fully explored. However, there are a few points which might be considered, mainly as a basis for further investigation.

Firstly, by the mid nineteenth century there can be little doubt that many officials had come under the influence of the Evangelical and other religious movements in England. Many of them, like Macleod Wylie, Woodrow,

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16. Indian Empire, 10 July 1861.

Frere and Lawrence held religious views similar to those held by the missionaries themselves and it is quite possible that the proportion of officials who were professing and active Christians during this period was higher than it had been at the beginning of the century. This point might be tested by a comparative study (not altogether impossible) of the religious background and attitudes of individual officials in India during these two periods.

Secondly, by the mid nineteenth century missionaries had established a reputation in official circles, particularly in education.[17] Moreover, officials soon discovered that individual missionaries, with their experience in education, their knowledge of vernacular language and literature or their understanding of social conditions were useful in administration or valuable as advisers.[18]

Finally, while it appears that the missionaries themselves were less outspoken and violent in their attacks on non-Christian religions and were more tactful in preaching than they had been earlier in the century,[19]

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17. See pp.27,111.
18. See especially, H.P. Frere to Wood, 18 February 1862.
19. M.Ali The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activity, p.332.

it is possible that Bengali reactions to missionary activity were less spectacular and alarming to Government officials so concerned with the maintenance of law and order. But again this point can be properly settled only by a comparative study.

The missionaries, for their part, were not uncritical of official policies and were sometimes quite outspoken. Yet, generally speaking, they seem to have felt that the advantages of British rule outweighed its defects.[20] They did not feel that the Government should in any official capacity sponsor evangelism,[21] but they almost certainly believed it should maintain a framework of peace and order and help create at least some of the conditions in which evangelism would become easier and more effective. Some missionaries, for example, believed the Government should develop education and the majority felt that it should reform the indigo system. But missionary attitudes towards the state and towards Government intervention in education were, at least in the 1850's, partly conditioned by denominational differences — Anglicans generally being the first to accept

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20. K.A.Ballhatchet "Some Aspects of Historical Writing on India by Protestant Christian Missionaries During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, (ed.) C.H.Philips, London 1961, pp. 344-348.
21. See pp. 125-126.

Government-missionary co-operation in education while the Dissenters, influenced by their English background, tended to hold back, suspicious of Government intentions.[22]

Long himself was fully convinced of the need for Government intervention in the economic and social life of the people and believed that many of the problems connected with the ignorance and social condition of the masses could be tackled effectively only by Government-missionary co-operation. He mixed with Government officials and worked with them on Government and voluntary committees. He discussed a wide range of subjects with them in private conversation and in correspondence and, like Dr. Duff, deliberately attempted to influence Government policy, particularly in matters which he believed would affect the prosperity of Christian missions. But whereas Duff influenced the Government in favour of higher education through English, Long was anxious to influence officials more in favour of education through the vernacular. The effect of his work and ideas on Halliday's thinking can be seen as early as 1854; he had some influence on Woodrow's decision to introduce the circle school system into Government education and he helped to improve the management and efficiency of Government zilla schools

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22. See pp. 106-111.

and also to formulate ways in which Government grants could be used to give greater stimulus to vernacular education. In 1868, his ideas on vernacular education so impressed Sir John Lawrence that he decided they should be carefully considered as a basis for future Government action in this direction.

But Long also had some influence over officials in matters connected with the indigo question, Indian public opinion and the vernacular press. He was consulted on the organization of the Indigo Commission of 1860 and, together with other missionaries, gave evidence. He succeeded in exciting a much greater awareness among Government officials of the importance of the vernacular press as an exponent of Bengali thought and feeling and, largely as a result of his influence over Sir Bartle Frere, he persuaded Canning to appoint a Government translator of vernacular publications. In 1855, at Long's suggestion, a law designed to curb the sale and distribution of obscene vernacular literature was introduced and passed in the Legislative Council and, in 1866, he was consulted by a Government Committee working on a Bill, also passed by the Legislative Council, making the registration of vernacular publications compulsory.

While Long seems to have won for himself an almost unique position in Government circles, he was by no means

the only missionary involved in Government administration. Some of the other Bengal missionaries were active on Government education committees and were consulted by the Government on the indigo question and possibly on other matters as well. In fact, they may well have had a greater influence on Government educational and social policy than is sometimes imagined. Informal discussion between individual missionaries and members of the Government was not necessarily recorded in official records, but there is much evidence of it in Long's letters and journals. Moreover, as Dr. Ingham has already shown, and, as is also clear from the indigo controversy, the attempt by missionaries in India to bring pressure to bear on the authorities was sometimes reinforced by missionary and Evangelical activity through Parliament and perhaps by other means in England. Historians are now more fully aware of the effects of Indian public opinion and feeling on Government policy, but perhaps greater attention should be paid to the part missionaries and their supporters also played in influencing official thinking and Government legislation.

Finally, the question might also be considered as to whether or not Government-missionary co-operation in matters such as education, and the association of

missionaries with Government officials, was in the long term interests of Christianity. It is clear that during the Mutiny Christianity was regarded with great hostility by some Indians as "the religion of Europeans"[23] and the association of missionaries with officials must in some ways have built up the idea that British rule and missionary activity were all part of the same process. Yet in Bengal, the educated classes in particular remained loyal to the Government, and, in the 1850's, it was still quite possible for missionaries like Long to sympathise with Bengali national and political aspirations and at the same time support the maintenance of British rule, work with Government officials and play some part in administration. But as the gap widened between Government policy and the national movement later in the century, the position of missionaries, anxious to retain the respect of the politically-conscious intellectuals, must have become increasingly difficult. It is well known that C.F.Andrews of the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, was sympathetic towards the nationalist movement, but what is not known is the attitude of other European missionaries in general towards these political developments. Nor is it known how far, if at all, the attitude of the missionaries towards Indian nationalism affected Indian attitudes towards them and towards the Christianity they proclaimed.

23. Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, new series, vol.III, No. 8, March 1859, p.172

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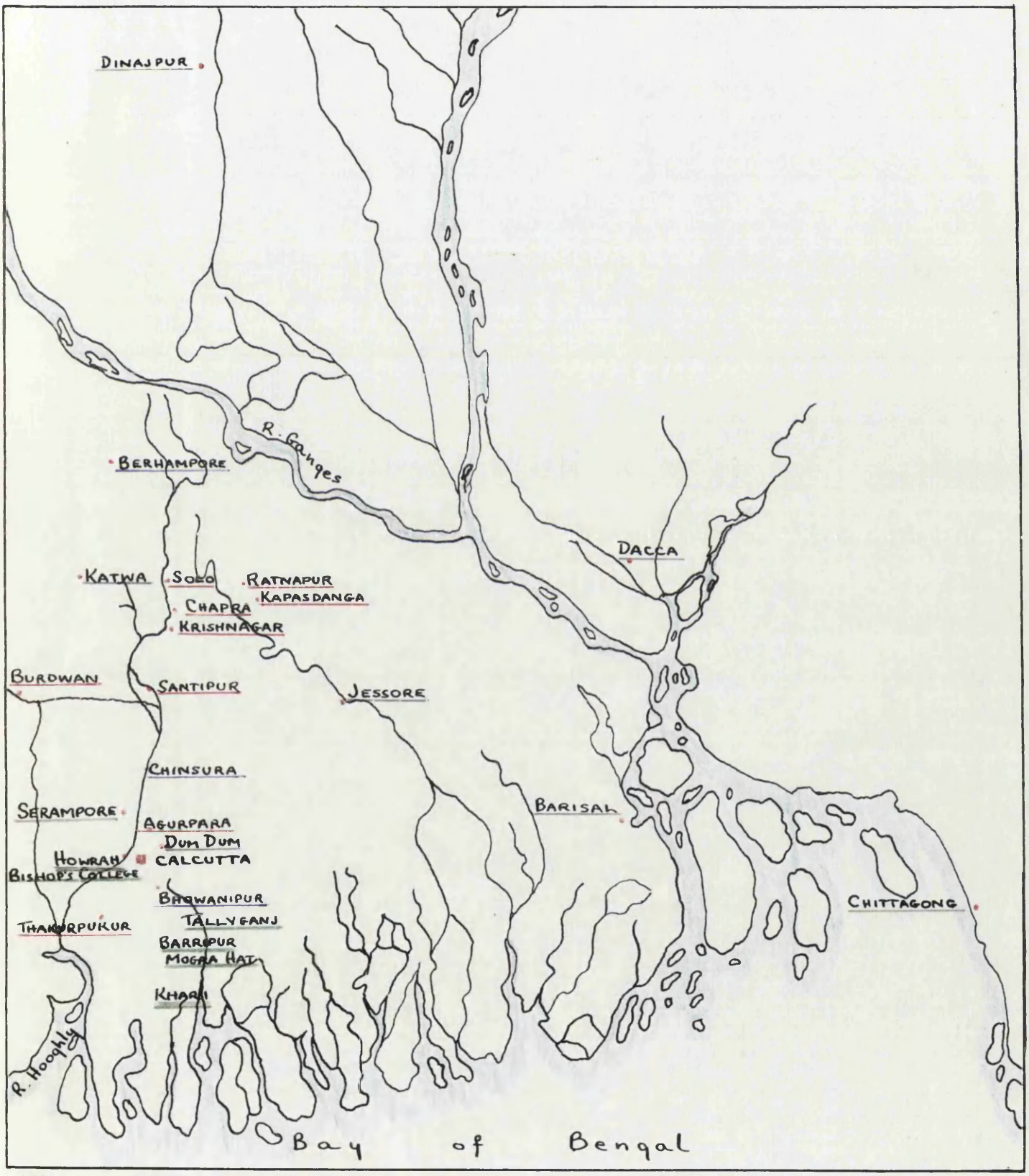
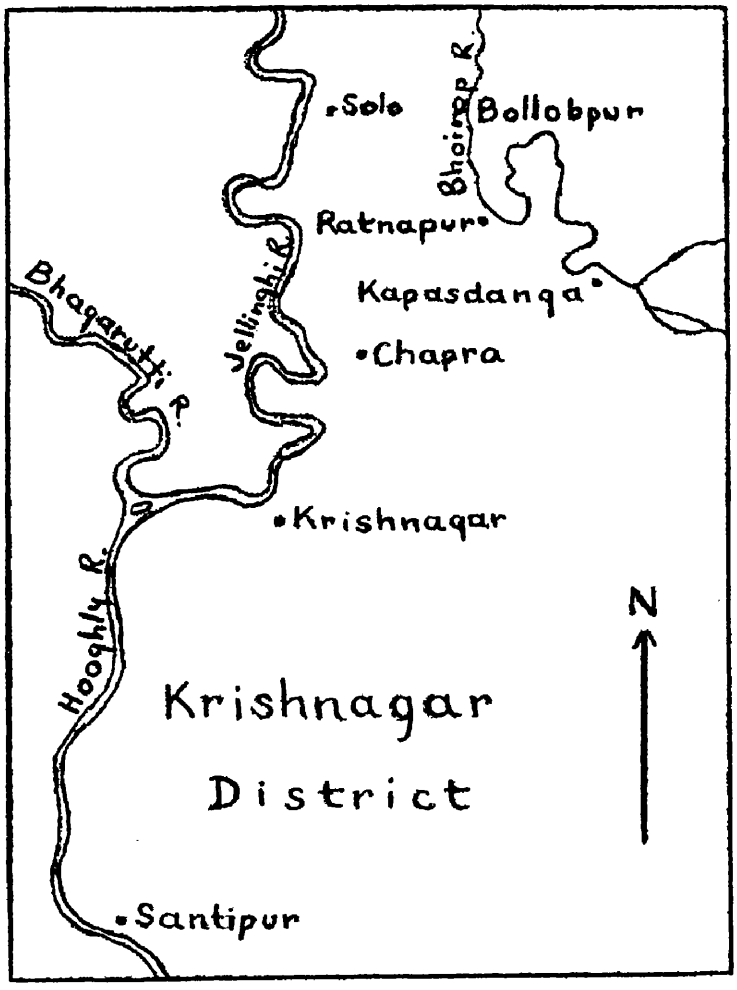
Principal Protestant Mission Stations in Bengal, 1840.



KEY.
- B.M.S. Stations
- C.M.S. "
- L.M.S. "
- S.P.G. "

All Societies together with the Church of Scotland had headquarters in Calcutta, and some also had out-stations in the suburbs.

C.M.S. Mission Stations, in the Krishnagar District, 1850.



Map is based on maps in

J.Long Handbook of Bengal Missions, and
M.Wylie Bengal as a Field of Missions.